

Political History &c.
**REVOLUTION
PRINCIPLES**

FAIRLY
Represented *and* Defended.

Laying down distinctly
The PRINCIPLES themselves,

A N D

**Demonstrating their Consistence with *Scripture*
and *Reason*, the *Laws* and Constitution of the
English Government, and Principles of the *Church*
of *England*.**

W I T H

**A Short Justification of the Settlement of the
CROWN in the**

PROTESTANT LINE;

**And the Necessity of Adhering to a *Parliamentary*
Limitation, in Opposition to the New prevailing
Notion of *Hereditary Right*.**

S H E W I N G

**The *Reasonableness* and *Necessity* of every True
BRITAIN's openly avowing, and asserting these
PRINCIPLES, in order to secure the
Blessings we enjoy by Virtue of 'em.**

Being a *Second Part* of the *Principles of the Low Church-Men, &c.*
By the same AUTHOR.

**The Protestant Religion,
And the Liberties of England.**

Prince of Orange's Standard.

L O N D O N :

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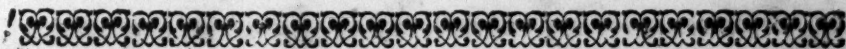




REVOLUTION PRINCIPLES

FAIRLY

Represented *and* Defended.



INTRODUCTION.

THE following Papers (as the Reader is already inform'd by the Title Page) are a *Defence* of the Principles of those who are abus'd with the Name of *Low Church-Men* : For which Reason I thought it proper to draw the Materials of it from the Writings of the most eminent of that Character : Not only because they are the most likely to give the best and truest Representation of their Sense in these Matters (which in a Thing of this Nature ought very much to be regarded) but also because their Writings afford the most convincing Arguments, and strongest Reasons to support their Opinions ; insomuch that tho' there is yet room for others to say some Things in these Controversies, yet 'tis scarce possible for any

to set them in a better Light than is done already. But because this happens to be done in *many* Discourses, and is often intermingled with other Things; I thought it might be useful to draw out of them all, a *Defence* of the Principles of the *Low Church-Men* in the Points of Difference between them and others. The *former* Essay attempted this in some Measure, and the *present* is intended to compleat it: In *that* I fairly represented their Sense, and often in their *own Words*; and, I hope, made it appear they agree very well with the *Church of England*, however they happen to differ from those who seem to value themselves on the Character of *High Church-Men*, from whom they are farther distinguish'd in that,

‘ S E C T. IX. *With Respect to the Civil Government, they think, that all that Obedience and Submission that is settled by our Laws to the Persons of our Princes, ought to be paid them for Conscience Sake: But if a misguided Prince shall take on him to dissolve our Constitution, and to destroy the Religion and Liberties of his Subjects, he may lawfully be resisted in those Attempts; and they are very zealous for the Protestant Succession as settled by Law, and can by no Means allow of an Inseizable Hereditary Right to the Crown of Great Britain.*

‘ H E R E it will concern me to be very exact, because this Part of their Character, above all others, has been most violently attack'd; not so much by reasoning against, as by *flirting at, and misrepresenting* their Principles. The Truth is, tho' many of the very zealous Sons of the Church do yet adhere to the Doctrine of
‘ *Passive-*

' *Passive-Obedience* in the utmost Extant of it, and
 ' an Indefeizable *Hereditary Right*, in the strictest
 ' Sense ; and consequently do and intend to cast
 ' black and odious Colours upon the *Revolution*,
 ' and utterly disclaim the *Protestant Succession* ;
 ' yet few of them care to own, and some we cha-
 ' ritably hope have really renounc'd *these* Princi-
 ' ples, and their undeniable Consequences. But
 ' yet notwithstanding, these very Men do fre-
 ' quently make that a Matter of Reproach to
 ' others, which if you sift 'em to the Bottom, they
 ' themselves will own. They do now often ac-
 ' knowledge *Passive Obedience* to be a limited
 ' Duty, and may admit of an Exception, as well
 ' as other Duties express'd in Scripture, in as
 ' general Terms ; and tell us, that by *Hereditary*
 ' *Right*, they mean no more than *Hereditary*
 ' *Right according to that Act which excludes Papists*,
 ' and consequently destroys *Hereditary Right*,
 ' understood in the Sense in which they us'd for-
 ' merly to assert, and others to deny it.

' INDEED if we were to form our Judgment
 ' of these Men by their *Addresses* sometime ago,
 ' we must then believe they do wretchedly dis-
 ' guise themselves, and impose upon the World ;
 ' for in them we find frequent Declarations on
 ' the Behalf of Unlimited *Passive - Obedience*,
 ' and *Obedience without Reserve* ; and in Favour of
 ' *Hereditary Right* (in a quite different Sense) as
 ' the best, if not the only Right now, which yet
 ' they themselves with the same Breath do disclaim
 ' for the future : And all this join'd with heavy Ac-
 ' cusations against those of different Principles,
 ' whom they represent as Commonwealths-Men,
 ' Enemies to Monarchy, and such as had Designs
 ' to introduce a Republick, and bring the King
 ' of England to the Condition of the Duke of

' Venice .

‘ *Venice* ; and all this only for being of Principles, which at other Times they say are their own.

‘ And yet they cannot give one Instance of a Person of any Character, that asserted the Lawfulness of Resistance, in any Case, but that of a total Subversion, and when it was absolutely necessary to the publick Happiness and Security ; or that thought it worth his while to oppose an Hereditary Right according to the Act of Settlement, which is the only Sense in which themselves do pretend to own any for the future, whatever they may pretend at present.

‘ Now is it fair for Men to declaim against their Brethren, as Rebels and Enemies to the Constitution, for being of the same Principles with themselves ? Is it reasonable they should thus keep up a Distinction, where there is really no Difference ? Is it not plain, that however they may sometimes talk and harangue, they are forc’d to acknowledge the Truth of the main Principles of those they do so violently oppose ? When they explain themselves upon Absolute Non-Resistance, or Hereditary Right, they have the Absurdity to own, That by Absolute Non-Resistance, they mean a Resistance which is not Absolute ; and that by Hereditary Right, they mean the same with other People’s Parliamentary Right ; and yet by the deceitful Use of these Words, with much Noise and Clamour, they endeavour to keep up a Distinction, where they cannot maintain any.’

So that notwithstanding the mighty Clamours some of ’em make, the only Difference between these People and others, is in this, Whether it be proper, and for the Advantage of the Government, freely to declare what they do in Truth believe

believe and allow about the Lawfulness of Resistance in Case of extream Necessity, and be not more convenient to conceal it; and whether, since they are agreed, that the *Hereditary Right* of the one, and *Parliamentary Right* of the other, are the *same*, and perfectly synonymous Expressions, (as they respect the House of *Hanover*) it be more for the Security of *that Succession*, and of her Majesty's Government, to insist upon the *latter*, or to exalt and magnify the *former*.

I shall therefore endeavour to shew very briefly, that it is much safer, and more for the Security of our present Establishment, as well as future Happiness, to press the Duty of Submission with some Limitations, than to lay it down in unlimited Terms, and leave the Exception to justify it self, as some have been pleas'd to express it; and also that it is a much greater Security to her Majesty's Government, and the *Protestant Succession*, to insist upon a *Parliamentary Right*, than to exalt a Right purely *Hereditary*, and devolv'd by a Lineal Succession.

§. 1. Now it is plain that we of this Nation have been actually sav'd from eminent Ruin by *Resistance*, to which originally and chiefly we owe the Happiness of the present Establishment; and therefore it is necessary to assert and insist upon the Lawfulness of such *Resistance*, in order to justify the Foundation upon which this whole Settlement does depend; I wish this were well consider'd: It wou'd probably make some Men more wary in condemning all Resistance, if they wou'd but reflect what must be the Consequence: For if the Resistance offer'd at the Revolution was not lawful, then was what follow'd upon it meer *Usurpation*; and consequently the *Act* that establishes the *Protestant Succession*, is of no Force; which

which I yet hope and believe, there are not many of this Sort of Men, wou'd be willing to set aside. The *Non-Jurors* know the Force of this Argument well enough; and therefore make it their great Business to possess People with the Unlawfulness of Resistance in any Case whatsoever; they know, if they can but make this universally believ'd, the Consequence will be as favourable as they can wish; the *Revolution* and *Protestant Succession* must even go together. If Injustice was really done to King *James*, and the *Revolution* was founded in *Iniquity*; then it will follow, that King *William* and Queen *Mary* were *Usurpers*, and that there is another Brood of *Usurpers* coming over from *Hanover*, which I hope an *English Protestant* will scarce believe, upon five Times better Evidence than can be given for *Absolute Passive Obedience*.

INDEED before the Revolution, it was somewhat more excusable in Men to lay down the Doctrine of Submission in general Expressions; as many did, who yet expressly own'd a Reserve for Resistance in Case of a total Subversion: The Right Reverend Bishop of *Sarum* was one of this Number; who I the rather instance in, because many think they have a mighty Advantage in producing his Authority for their *Absolute Passive Obedience*. By this they impose on unthinking People, who have not themselves seen what his Lordship has wrote on the Subject, but take up with the Account of it, which they please to afford them: In hopes therefore of satisfying such Men what little Reason there is for making him a Patron of *Absolute Passive Obedience*, I will give them his own Account of it. * ' About 40 Years

* Sermon on Nov. 5. 1710.

ago (*says he*) several Books were sent to Scotland, asserting a Right in the People, in Opposition to establish'd Laws, to resist Authority, and to force a Change in the Laws; all being grounded upon Pretences of Religion: In Opposition to these Books, I was engag'd to write; and I made this the main Subject of the Debate, That a Magistrate governing by Law, was not to be resisted upon the Account of Religion: And being at that Time of the same Perswasion that I continue in to this Day, I did in plain Terms express it, (Page 16.) *In Case the Magistrate be furious, or desert his Right, or expose his Kingdom to the Fury of others, the Laws and Sense of all Nations agree, That the States of the Land are to be the Administrators of the Power.* And (Page 17.) *The Case varies very much, when the Abuse is such that it tends to a total Subversion; which may justly be call'd a Frenzy, since no Man is capable of it till he is under some Delusion of his Mind; in which Case, the Power is to be administred by others, for the Prince and his People's Safety.* There must be a strange Art of Reasoning (as my Lord adds) in those, who would infer from his saying, *That Religion gives no Right to any to act against Law, or to set up by Force in Opposition to Law;* that therefore when Religion is become a main Part of the Law, and is endeavour'd to be overturn'd in a plain Opposition to Law, that it is not lawful to defend it.

HERE we see that tho' the Bishop of Sarum did on some Occasions lay down the Doctrine of Submission, in general Terms; yet on others, he expressly made the Exception of a total Subversion; which I thought my self oblig'd to take Notice of, in Vindication of this Reverend and Learned Prelate; who has been follow'd with all the Spite

and Misrepresentation in the World; for no other Reason but the great Share he had in bringing about, and his great Zeal in defending the late *Glorious* Revolution; which as it will never be *forgiven* him by one Part of the Nation, so it will never be *forgotten* by another: But tho' it happen'd that he made the Exception, yet perhaps it was not so absolutely *necessary* to be done at that Time, for several Reasons that are quite out of the Case now. It may not always be so proper to suppose extraordinary Cases, when Men are giving the Directions that belong to the ordinary Course of Life: When Children are exhorted to *obey their Parents in all Things*, it is not always needful to suppose the Case of their Parents going about to *kill* them, nor argue what they may do in such a Case: But then if a Case of this Nature have actually happen'd; and we are led to discourse of it with those who are particularly concern'd, that Case ought to be excepted out of the general Rule, and the Son shou'd certainly be told, that his Resistance of his Father's Attempts to deprive him of his Life, is not condemn'd by that Law of God which requires his Obedience and Submission in all Things. Now this is our Case: The Attempt of King *James* upon our Religion and Liberties, made it necessary for us to resist him, in order to preserve them: The whole Body of the Nation join'd in that Resistance; to which we owe our Security, and the Happiness of the present Establishment: For Men therefore *now* to set forth the Duty of Obedience and Submission in unlimited Expressions; absolutely to condemn all Manner of Resistance, without any Exception of the Case that has actually happen'd, or any like it that may hereafter happen, is plainly to condemn the Revolution as Rebellion;

bellion; and consequently to undermine our present Settlement. The Principles of Liberty, are always of such Importance to a Nation, as to make it very convenient that Men shou'd sometimes be reminded of them; but they are more so, when a Case hath happen'd in which they were put into Practice, and the present good Estate of the Nation is owing entirely to that Practice.

§ 2. AND this is the more necessary, because the contrary Doctrine is so frequently, so publicly and zealously espoused and propagated; with this *professed* Design, by many to blacken and reproach the Revolution. There is scarce a single Truth in Nature, which hath endur'd more Opposition and more Abuses than this; and even to this Day we meet with numberless Insults upon *Revolution Principles*, and the Principles of *Self-Defence*, as well from those who *submit* to the *Government*, as others who are the profess'd *Enemies* of it. These are not sparing in their daily Endeavours, to bring a Disgrace on these Principles, or in their Boasts that the good old Doctrine of Absolute Passive Obedience, is revived from that Grave in which it seem'd buried at the *late Revolution*. It has indeed been made an Argument against the publicly owning these Principles, that we are zealous enough for Liberty; that there is no Danger of our not esteeming this sufficiently; that the Fear rather is, lest we are too fond of it, and care not to be kept under any legal Restraints: But there seems little Ground for such Conceits; for where is this great Zeal for Liberty? Or how hath it so universally discover'd it self, as to give Occasion for such Jealousies and Fears? It is plain those have been made the common Marks of Infamy and

Reproach, who have defended it. *Synodical Censure* hath been call'd for by *some*, and *Fire from Heaven*, by *others* ; only for asserting a Right in a Nation to defend its Constitution from Ruin. There has been, as it were, a general Alarm given, and an universal Cry rais'd against those who have ventur'd to allow it : *Jurors* and *Non-Jurors*, *Clergy* and *Laity*, have as it were united together, to hinder the Voice of Liberty from being heard.

But the *Non-Jurors* and *Clergy*, especially the younger Sort, have been foremost and loudest in the common Cry ; their Pulpits for a long Time have scarce rung with any Thing else but the *Divine Right* of Kings to do just what they please, and the Necessity People are under, in all Cases, to submit to them. The Character of the *Danish* and *Swedish Clergy* * fits too many among us. They are not content with playing their Batteries upon our Constitution, from the Ramparts of the *Pulpit* ; but scarce a Week passes, as we see by every News-Paper, without some *Reverend* or other's trotting up to *London* with his *Divine unaccountable Right* in his Bags. If we were again in the Condition from which the *Revolution* sav'd us ; that is, if our *Laws* and *Liberties* and native *Rights* were to be *buried*, we shou'd have a new Kind of Funeral Harangues in Fashion ; instead of dropping a Tear over 'em, fullsome Panegyricks wou'd be made upon their Murtherers, and Curses denounc'd against all who shou'd endeavour to preserve them : It must indeed be acknowledg'd, that there are a great many worthy Men of the *sacred Order*, whose Conduct is the Reverse of these slavish Tools. To the Honour of the Na-

* See the Letter to Sir J. B.

tion be it spoken, there are *dead and living Fathers* of the *Divine British Liberty*; and the *Tillotsons* and *Tenisons*, the *Talbots* and *Wakes*, the *Burnets* and *Fleetwoods* and *Trimnells*, will, without doubt sound nobly in every Ear of a Free-born People; when all the shameless Advocates of Tyranny and Slavery will be utterly forgot, or remember'd with Detestation.

AND here I cannot but observe another Sort of Men, who tho' they will not flatly deny the Lawfulness of the Resistance made at the Revolution; yet speak as tenderly of it as if they thought it a Thing to be ashamed of: They wou'd willingly have Resistance practic'd in some Cases, yet don't care for owning it to be honourable or lawful; it may it seems be practic'd by Christians upon great Occasions, but then it must be against their Principles, and with Remorse of Conscience; they must do it in a Passion as it were; and when it is done, they must be left wholly void of all Manner of Excuse. These Men desire not to appear to do so, and yet they do indeed leave no room for opposing the greatest Tyranny and Oppression in Governours, without breaking thro' the Ties of Conscience and Honour.

ALL these Considerations put together, too evidently shew the great Fondness there is in some for slavish Principles, and that the old Leven is not yet work'd out; that the Revolution is yet an *Eye-Sore*, tho' it sav'd us; and therefore there is Reason sufficient to make it necessary for all, who do really own the Principles upon which it was brought about, freely to *declare* them.

§ 3. ANOTHER Thing that makes this reasonable, is the Tendency of the contrary Principles to betray Princes to those Attempts that must end in their own, or their People's Ruin. They
serve

serve to flatter the Vices of the Great and Mighty, and of all who can by any Means come to have any Dependance upon them. The *Inclination* of a *Nero* to tyrannize, and sport himself with the Misery of his Inferiors; the Lust and Ambition of those about him, who hope for great Things by humouring and encouraging this Temper; the Designs of all who can raise themselves by being Instruments of Cruelty; these are all sooth'd and flatter'd by the Principles of Absolute Submission and Non-Resistance. *Our Inferiors believe they must in no Case resist, therefore we may safely act our Part,* is an Argument which humane Nature, cloath'd with Power, will frequently yield to; whereas the Allowance of Resistance in extream Cases, is a great Means of putting a Stop to such Exorbitance, and such Designs. This is not meer Speculation; for we have had an Instance in our own Nation, of a Prince unhappily sooth'd by the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, and flatter'd into open Attempts upon our Liberties; when perhaps, if the contrary Principles had been current, and as generally profess'd as the other, it had kept him firm to his Oaths and Promises, and happy in the Obedience of a *willing* People. This appears pretty probable from what the Bishop of *Sarum* says of his Conversation with that Prince: * He tells us, that he took the Freedom to tell him, when *Duke of York*, that it was impossible for him to reign in quiet in this Nation, being of the *Romish* Religion; to which he answer'd very quick, *Does not the Church of England maintain the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance?* But tho', by the miraculous Providence of God, we were

* *Bishop of Sarum's Speech on Sacheverel's Trial*, Page 12.

rescu'd from the Misery these Notions were like to bring on us; yet there are two * Nations in the World whose Constitutions were *once* as happy as our own, but by the Assistance of *Absolute Passive Obedience*, are *now* the Scenes of Rapine, Persecution and Oppression: These People enjoy'd the Benefits of the *Protestant Religion*, and had it secur'd to them; were possess'd of great Privileges, and a perfect Liberty; they had *Triennial Parliaments*, and Kings governing according to Law: They may say to us, what St. Paul wish'd of *Agrippa*, and the rest that heard him, they were *almost altogether such as we are*, and had remain'd so to this Day, had it not been for these Bonds of *Absolute Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance*: So that without disputing with a certain great Lawyer, † Whether the admitting a Case wherein Resistance may be lawful, wou'd devour all Allegiance; 'tis evident beyond Contradiction, that this general *Passive Doctrine* has devour'd all these Peoples Happiness. And what Reason can be given, why that Doctrine that has already ruin'd two Kingdoms, is not able to ruin the *third*; especially when those that miscarry'd in their Attempts before, can see now by the Success of the other two, where the Mismanagement lay that hinder'd them from the same Success.

Now tho' the general Precepts of Scripture may be well enough let alone, while no gross Abuses are put upon them; yet when they are abus'd, and this not to the Prejudice of a private Person, but of a whole Nation; it is then necessary they shou'd be explain'd, and the true Extent of them fix'd and determin'd.

* France and Sweden.

† Vid. Sacheverel's Tryal.

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§ 4. To all which I shall only add in the last Place, that it seems to be a much fairer Way, to own that we do not think our selves bound to any *absolute* Submission, than to declare *for* it, and act against it. I make no doubt but the Observation is true enough, that those Men, at least many of 'em, who talk very loud for Passive Obedience, will be as unwilling to practice it as their Neighbours, who do not think themselves under any such Obligation. This is a Doctrine that will undoubtedly jade it self when it comes to be us'd; when most People talk of Passive Obedience and quiet Sufferings, they never mean their own; 'tis a Duty only for others, for when it comes to themselves, they cannot endure to practice upon what they have taught. *They bind heavy Burdens, and grievous to be born, and lay 'em upon other Mens Shoulders, but themselves will not move 'em with one of their Fingers.* People can remember enough of this *Hypocrisy*. The Men that gave the late K. James a Right to dispence with all the Laws, to mould Charters anew, to have an Army under his Command in the Bowels of the Kingdom, and to be accountable to none but God; yet these thought his breaking the Laws of a College, worthy an Invitation to a foreign Prince; and we have known Men of the same Stamp since, who notwithstanding their Declarations for *Absolute Non-Resistance*, only upon Account of a few People's being put out of Place, told their Prince to her Face, * *That Nature was apt to rebel against Principle.* 'Tis certainly much better to declare for Resistance, in order to save the Constitution, than thus to insult the Government against their Principles and

* *Memorial of the Church of England.*

Consciences upon *no Pretence whatsoever*. Let the Impartial judge which are the honestest Men, they who tell you that upon a just Occasion they will resist, and make it a Principle to do so ; or they whoever express themselves as if they thought it unlawful to resist in any Case, and yet reserve a Case in their Minds wherein they do not only allow it to be lawful, but have actually resisted, and will not fail of doing it again ?

All that can be objected against this, is the ill Use some may possibly make of it, if it be commonly declar'd, that Princes may in some Cases be resisted ; it is said it will dispose People of turbulent Spirits to oppose even the best Governours, and every one that imagins he is oppress'd, will think he has a Right to redress his Grievance by Resistance. This is the greatest Objection that most People have against this Doctrine, and it has been wonderfully improv'd by those whose Interest it is to keep Matters in the dark : It is really worthy of Observation, to see how strangely fond some Men are of this Topick ; what Pains they take to dress it up in all the fantastick Postures which Levity, Villany, or the Want of Sense (for one of these it must be) can furnish them with : One while they tell us, if it be lawful to resist a Prince attempting to destroy the national Constitution and Happiness ; no Prince, how righteous and beneficial soever his Administration be, can be safe and secure ; another, that by this Doctrine, Subjects may defend themselves by Resistance upon the most *trifling* Occasions : In a Word, that all the Treasons, Seditious and Rebellions in the World, have been owing to this Principle ; particularly the *Great Rebellion*, that ended in the Murder of the best of Men and Princes. It must be confess'd with Men

of this Prowess of Argument, it is hard contending: But yet so long as there remains a Difference between a *just* Reason and *no* Reason; between being *govern'd* by a Rule, and acting expressly *against* it; there can be no great Matter in this terrible Objection: I will therefore as briefly as I can, examine it; tho' we might reasonably esteem our selves no farther concern'd to clear our selves of these Charges, than to tell them, 'tis not *Resistance* in Case of *Private Injuries* that we assert; but in this Case, and no other; that is, *When Governours act contrary to the End of their Institution, and invade the Rights of their Subjects, and attempt the Ruin of that Society over which they are plac'd*: And if they can't see the Difference between these two Cases the more is the Pity. But to consider this Matter a little more particularly.

1. It is not likely that the Designs of Men who shou'd endeavour to disturb the Government, and engage Subjects to *Resistance* under a righteous Administration; should take any Effect, or work any Thing but their own Destruction. For the Happiness of good Governours, and the Blessings of publick Justice and Liberty, do so sensibly affect Subjects, and are so universally felt, that the generality of a Nation must needs know when they enjoy them, and when they enjoy them not; and must needs love their own Happiness too well to destroy and ruin it, by opposing those from whom they know it is deriv'd to them: It is not with the Majority of a People, as it is with some particular Men of desperate Fortunes and ungovernable Tempers; it is an easy Matter to them to threaten *Resistance* to the best of Governments, and the most just Administration of Affairs: But they wou'd with all their Endeavours, find it a hard and impossible Point to raise the
Minds

Minds of any Number of Men to their own Pitch ; who have Families to maintain, and Business to manage, and honest Designs carrying forward, and feel in their own Concerns the Influence and Blessing of a good Administration : And to shew that such Men are not moved by any such Principles as are here contended for, it is manifest from Experience, that they have no need of any ; and that there has not been the least Shadow of Resistance offer'd to the Government, since Her Majesty's Accession to the Crown, but from those who *disown* all Principles of Resistance, and pretend to embrace the contrary. So that we need not decline the owning this Doctrine, upon any Apprehension of its endangering the Security of a just and good Government ; for there is not the least Danger of any one's being influenc'd by it, to *resist* under a *righteous* Administration.

2. But suppose some shou'd apply this Doctrine, which only concerns the *worst*, to the *best* of Princes ; and oppose good Governours, under Pretence that it is lawful to oppose Tyrants and Oppressors ; this cannot be a sufficient Reason against our owning and avowing it : An ill Use may be made of the greatest and most important Truths in the World, which nevertheless must be asserted and vindicated. There are Cases in which the greatest *Patrons* of *Non-Resistance* do expressly allow, that it is not only lawful, but necessary in Point of Conscience, for Subjects to withhold all *active* Obedience, and all Assistance from their Governours. Now it is easy upon this to cry out, ' No Governours can bear such ' **Doctrine** ; no Government can be secure if this ' be taught, for Subjects may mistake in this ' Point ; and here is a Foundation lay'd for a

of this Prowess of Argument, it is hard contending: But yet so long as there remains a Difference between a *just* Reason and *no* Reason; between being *govern'd* by a Rule, and acting expressly *against* it; there can be no great Matter in this terrible Objection: I will therefore as briefly as I can, examine it; tho' we might reasonably esteem our selves no farther concern'd to clear our selves of these Charges, than to tell them, 'tis not *Resistance* in Case of *Private Injuries* that we assert; but in this Case, and no other; that is, *When Governours act contrary to the End of their Institution, and invade the Rights of their Subjects, and attempt the Ruin of that Society over which they are plac'd*: And if they can't see the Difference between these two Cases the more is the Pity. But to consider this Matter a little more particularly.

1. It is not likely that the Designs of Men who shou'd endeavour to disturb the Government, and engage Subjects to *Resistance* under a righteous Administration; should take any Effect, or work any Thing but their own Destruction. For the Happiness of good Governours, and the Blessings of publick Justice and Liberty, do so sensibly affect Subjects, and are so universally felt, that the generality of a Nation must needs know when they enjoy them, and when they enjoy them not; and must needs love their own Happiness too well to destroy and ruin it, by opposing those from whom they know it is deriv'd to them: It is not with the Majority of a People, as it is with some particular Men of desperate Fortunes and ungovernable Tempers; it is an easy Matter to them to threaten *Resistance* to the best of Governments, and the most just Administration of Affairs: But they wou'd with all their Endeavours, find it a hard and impossible Point to raise the
Minds

Minds of any Number of Men to their own Pitch ; who have Families to maintain, and Business to manage, and honest Designs carrying forward, and feel in their own Concerns the Influence and Blessing of a good Administration : And to shew that such Men are not moved by any such Principles as are here contended for, it is manifest from Experience, that they have no need of any ; and that there has not been the least Shadow of Resistance offer'd to the Government, since Her Majesty's Accession to the Crown, but from those who *disown* all Principles of Resistance, and pretend to embrace the contrary. So that we need not decline the owning this Doctrine, upon any Apprehension of its endangering the Security of a just and good Government ; for there is not the least Danger of any one's being influenc'd by it, to *resist* under a *righteous* Administration.

2. But suppose some shou'd apply this Doctrine, which only concerns the *worst*, to the *best* of Princes ; and oppose good Governours, under Pretence that it is lawful to oppose Tyrants and Oppressors ; this cannot be a sufficient Reason against our owning and avowing it : An ill Use may be made of the greatest and most important Truths in the World, which nevertheless must be asserted and vindicated. There are Cases in which the greatest *Patrons* of *Non-Resistance* do expressly allow, that it is not only lawful, but necessary in Point of Conscience, for Subjects to withhold all *active* Obedience, and all Assistance from their Governours. Now it is easy upon this to cry out, ' No Governours can bear such ' **Doctrine** ; no Government can be secure if this ' be taught, for Subjects may mistake in this ' Point ; and here is a Foundation lay'd for a

' universal Defection from a Prince, and for the
 ' denying that Assistance, without which his Go-
 ' vernment will be but a Shadow and a Name. '
 This is the ill Use People may make of this Con-
 cession, and yet no Body is so absurd as to think
 it reasonable to deny the Lawfulness of Subjects
 with-holding their active Obedience and As-
 sistance from their Prince, in many Cases, be-
 cause many may possibly mistake thro' Ignorance,
 and many pretend to exempt themselves thro' a
 Perversness of Temper : No, they say, this is
 true, notwithstanding this Inconvenience ; and it
 seems full as reasonable to allow the Lawfulness
 of Resistance in the Case that has been stated,
 notwithstanding some may possibly mistake the
 Case, and misapply the Doctrine. Again (to
 give but one Instance more) it is certainly true,
 and taught without Scruple by all our Divines,
 that Separation from a Church which imposeth
 sinful Terms of Communion, is lawful and Praise-
 worthy ; and yet it is an easy Matter to cry out
 upon this, ' That no Church is safe if this Do-
 ' ctrine be taught, that it justifies all Separations ;
 ' for when any one hath a Fancy to separate, it
 ' is but pretending that somewhat unlawful is
 ' required, which they themselves are Judges of,
 ' and so we are laid open to perpetual *Schisms* and
 ' *Divisions*. ' And yet notwithstanding this, it
 is not thought necessary to *conceal* our Opinion of
 the Lawfulness of Separation in such a Case : We
 have other Ways of dealing with those who, un-
 der Pretence of this Principle, separate from a
 Church that does not make any sinful Terms
 necessary in order to Communion with it.

3. Let it in the last Place be consider'd, That
 those who affirm the Lawfulness of Resistance, in
 order to preserve the *Publick Happiness*, and to
save

save the Constitution from Rain, do with equal Freedom and Zeal declare against Resistance upon any other Account. They do not fail to declare the Unlawfulness of Resistance upon Account of single Instances of Mis-management, and for the Redress of private Grievances; and to denounce the *Wrath of God* against all such as resist and oppose Majestates in the due Execution of their Office. 'Tis therefore most unreasonable for Men to decline owning this Principle, upon an Apprehension that it will be brought to justify Resistance in other Cases; for tho' it does warrant the opposing Governours, when they illegally and unjustly oppress their Subjects, and attempt their Destruction; yet it gives no Countenance, nay it condemns as much as any other Principle whatsoever, all unreasonable and groundless Opposition to Magistrates; tho' it justifieth the *late Revolution*, which was in opposition to a Prince acting contrary to the Laws, and the End of his Institution; it does as much condemn all Opposition to Princes, promoting the Happiness of their People, and administering their Government according to the Laws.

I insist a little the longer upon this, in order to take off a Prejudice some may have conceiv'd against openly owning the Lawfulness of Resistance in Case of extream Necessity, on Account of the ill Use, they think, was made of it in the Reign of the *Royal Martyr King Charles I.* They imagine the Civil War took its Rise from this Principle, and therefore ought not to receive any Encouragement.

But by my Lord *Clarendon's* Account of the Matter, it is very plain, ' That no Body dreamt
' of a War, nor had any Principles leading to it,
' when it first broke out; but there was an un-
' happy

' happy Train of Accidents that hindred Matters
 ' from being brought to a Settlement, even when
 ' the King was granting all they could desire.
 ' Stories were carryed, by Persons about both
 ' the King and Queen, of Words let fall, that
 ' made them conclude, there were still ill Designs
 ' on foot against the Laws that were then pass'd:
 ' But that which brought all to a Crisis, was the
 ' Discovery of a Negociation to engage the Ar-
 ' my to declare against the Parliament. ' Besides
 that there was a Conjunction of other unhappy
 Causes to bring about the Evils of that Day,
 which are so well known that I shall not need to
 mention them.

It is certain, that if any of his most violent
 Enemies acted upon this Principle only, the
 Blame cannot be laid upon *that*, but upon the
 Men who were so weak, or so passionate as to
 imagine it wou'd justify all their unreasonable
 Proceedings. Nothing can be plainer, than that
 Resistance, in the Case we contend for it, is so
 far from excusing, much less justifying the cruel
 Deed of beheading King *Charles*, and destroying
 our Constitution in Church and State, that on
 the contrary it does absolutely condemn it. For
 certainly no Body will pretend, that it was for the
publick Security and Happiness, to take off the King
 and destroy the excellent Constitution of our Go-
 vernment; to be averse to those Accommodations
 which might have happily prevented many follow-
 ing Evils; to act without Authority from God or
 Man; and to bring the Nation under a more Ar-
 bitrary Power than was so much as pretended be-
 fore. These Things can never be prov'd to have
 been consistent with the publick good of these
 Nations; and therefore are so far from receiving
 any Justification from the Principle of Resistance,
 for

for securing the publick Happiness, that on the contrary, they are absolutely disallow'd and condemn'd by it. So that if those wicked Men did encourage themselves in their Villanies, upon Notions of the Lawfulness of Resistance in *such Cases*, and for *such Ends* as the *Principle* we contend for does flatly *condemn*, it is evident *that* is not concern'd in the Case ; it was not indeed *that* which encourag'd them, but *another* of their own framing ; and therefore it can be no Argument against our owning these Principles, that some have abus'd them to very bad Purposes ; this is nothing but what the best Things are liable to : Some of the most important Articles of our Christian Faith have, by some Men, been so far mistaken and misunderstood, as to be made an Encouragement to them to continue in their Sins, tho' they were design'd, and do in Truth tend in their Natures, to quite another Purpose.

But 'tis sometimes ask'd, what need there is of preaching the Doctrine of *Resistance* in a *Reign*, which gives not the least Occasion for the Practice of it ? Now one wou'd think the Argument is stronger the other way ; for when can there be a Time more proper to settle just Notions of Submission, than when there is no Danger of their being misapply'd ? As for our *selves*, who live under the Government of the best of *Princes*, if our Kings were as arbitrary as any in the *East*, our Rights, Liberties and Properties, and whatever is dear and valuable to us, wou'd be as safe, as to any Danger from *HER*, if they depended intirely upon her *Majesty's* gracious *Will*, as they are now they are secur'd by our *Laws* : But tho' we are so happy at present, yet who can answer for Futurity ? There may hereafter arise up such another Pharoah *as knew not Joseph* : And if a
good

good Prince be complimented with more Power than belongs to him by the Constitution, who shall be able to with-hold it from a *bad one*? If we tell a good Prince *he has it from God*, a bad one will tell himself as much, and become his own Flatterer. However, Princes have no need of being courted to become the Tyrants and Oppressors of their People. Power is an intoxicating Thing, and betrays Men to do such Things, as they wou'd before have abhor'd at their Hearts; and the *Exorbitance of it*, is the Prize they are too often aiming at and contending for, and the Thing that seems to please them more than the true Lustre of the Crown, which they constantly wear with Innocence and Justice: And there are always a Sort of Men that are very ready to forward the cruel and ambitious Aims of Princes, and even glad to help to offer up the Liberties of their Country to the Will and Pleasure of their Kings.

This, I hope, is sufficient to shew the Reasonableness and Expedience of their declaring their Minds freely in this Point of *Resistance*, who are convinc'd of the Lawfulness thereof, in order to save our Constitution from Ruin.

§. II. I am to shew in the next Place, That the insisting upon, and exalting an *Hereditary Right* to the Crown, as better than, and to the Neglect of the Legal and Parliamentary Right, is much to the Prejudice of the present Establishment and the Protestant Succession. So far both Parties are agreed, That her present Majesty hath a Right by Lineal Descent, as well as Act of Parliament; for there are none of those with whom we are now concern'd, that acknowledge the *Legitimacy of the Pretender*: And yet none can deny that even *her Majesty's Right* is not a little

little supported by the *Acts of Settlement*, as it cou'd never have exerted it self at all without the *Revolution*. I am not willing to strain Things, or to say more than there is just Ground for: Thus much seems so plain, that none scarce can be so absurd as to deny it, that without our *Revolution* we had never had our gracious *Queen*, which if there were nothing else to recommend it, gives it a just Right to be call'd a *Glorious* and *Happy Revolution*; and shou'd make those who pretend so much *Loyalty* to her *Majesty*, be a little more careful how they traduce and vilify it: And yet I hope to make it appear, before I have done, that it was not more *Beneficial* in its *Consequences*, than *Just* and *Honourable* in the *Means* by which it was effected.

At present I have only to consider, whether it be more for the Security of the present happy Establishment, to rely and insist upon the *Hereditary Right*, or the *contrary*. Those call'd *Low Churchmen*, do prefer the *Parliamentary Right* to any other, as being infinitely more for the Security of her *Majesty*, as well as the *Protestant Succession*. I can't any way represent their Reasons for this, with so much Clearness and Conviction, as by transcribing a Passage from a Sermon * of my Lord Bishop of *Sarum's*. Speaking of this Matter, he says, ' Some would now set aside the ' legal Title of Laws and Rights arising from ' Acts of Parliament, and have Recourse to an ' *Hereditary One*; in which, how much soever I ' may agree with them as to a certain secret ' Fact, yet as no Decision has ever been made ' in that Matter, so it is still in its self doubtful, ' and the legal State of it lies another Way: But

* On May, 1710. P. 9.

those who intend to subvert a Title that is sure
 and indisputable, have shew'd no small Cunning
 in imposing upon weak People, with a shew
 of the Respect that seems to be in this,
 and so study to make them depart from own-
 ing the Title that is certain; since there is an
 express Law, pass'd an hundred and forty
 Years ago, never attempted to be repeal'd,
 that asserts the Parliamentary Power of limi-
 ting the Succession of the Crown: Now if all
 this is set aside, and a Right is only asserted
 that depends upon a Fact, that in its Nature
 is, and must be for ever secret, where at least
 the Shews of Proof lie on the other Side, against
 Presumptions that I acknowledge are very
 strong ones; but yet are no more than Presump-
 tions; it is very visible what a Point is yielded
 up to our Enemies by this Way of Proceeding:
 And there is Reason enough to think that those
 who do now set this on, may have a Time in
 their View and Hopes, in which they may
 turn it against those, who are now unhappily
 inveigled by them to advance this; and that
 then the Assertors of Hereditary Right, will be
 call'd on from their own Concessions, to wor-
 ship the Idol that they may set up, if God for
 our other Sins, is ever provok'd to deliver us
 over into the Hands of our Enemies: All Infi-
 nuations of that Sort give a deep Wound to
 that, which yet is asserted now by many in the
 same Breath, concerning the *Protestant Successi-*
on: Those who set this Matter on, and draw
 unthinking People into it, know well enough
 that these will be thought but Words of Form,
 since if the Notion of the Sacredness of *Heredi-*
tary Right once take Place, the other must in
 Consequence be set aside.

The

The Hazard this Way of Proceeding puts the Protestant Succession and her Majesty's Title to, is so finely represented by the most delicate Pen of the Age, that I make no doubt of an Excuse from the Reader for placing it here. 'Tis in the 190th *Tatler*, and may be found in the 4th Volume, Page 3.

MR. BICKERSTAFF,

IT is some Years ago, since the Entail of the Estate of our Family was altered, by passing a Fine in favour of me (who am now in Possession of it) after some others deceased. The Heirs general, who lived beyond Sea, were excluded by this Settlement, and the whole Estate is to pass in a new Channel, after me and my Heirs : But several Tennants of the Lordship, perswade me to let them hereafter hold the Lands of me, according to the old Customs of the Barony, and not oblige them to act by the Limitations of the last Settlement. This they say will make me more popular among the Dependants, and the ancient Vassals of the Estate, to whom any Deviation from the Line of Succession is always invidious.

Yours, &c.

The Answer.

S I R,

YOU have by the Fine a plain Right, in which none of the Family can be your Competitor ; for which Reason, by all means demand Vassalage upon that Title. The contrary Advice can be given for no other Purpose in Nature, but to betray you, and favour other Pretenders, by making you place a Right which is in you only, upon a Level with a Right which you have in common with others.

I am, &c.

D 2

There

‘ There is nothing so dangerous, or so pleasing, as Compliments made to us by our Enemies; and my Correspondent tells me, That though he knows several of those who give him this Advice, were at first against passing the Fine in Favour of him; yet he is so touch’d with their Homage to him, that he can hardly believe they have a Mind to set it aside, in order to introduce the Heirs general into his Estate.’

I shall only desire it may be further consider’d, that as there are a great Number in this Kingdom, who are still looking back to *that Line* from which our Laws, blessed be God, are departed; so they can never bring their wicked and destructive Designs about, but by this Doctrine of *Hereditary Right*; which therefore they do with much Zeal spread and propagate among us. It was this Sort of Men, that upon a Notion of the Sacredness of *Hereditary Right*, so violently oppos’d the *Exclusion* of the then Duke of York; which if it had been done, we shou’d have had no need of the *Revolution*. In the first Steps of *that* indeed they join’d very heartily for the most Part; but quickly after let us see, *they could not do a good Work without being sorry for it*. With their utmost Skill they oppos’d King *William’s* filling the *vacant Throne*; but his Merit, and the nearness of the Danger, were too new to be resisted: But he was no sooner seated, but they set themselves with all their might to embarrass his Affairs, and make every thing heavy and difficult to him: Those of ’em that submitted to his Government, did it generally on Account of his being in *Possession*; tho’ they did not believe he had any *Right*. The Settling the Succession was so evidently for the Security of our Religion and Liberties,

Liberties, that it was push'd in their very Teeth: They set themselves equally to oppose the Union, by which the Succession was secur'd in Scotland. When his late Majesty died, a great Number of those who before refus'd the Oaths, came in and took them; not, I doubt, that they were better Friends to the Government than before, but that they might be enabled to carry on their Cause with more Success. It seems too true an Observation, that in *this* and the last *Reign* those who took the Oaths, were the most troublesome Enemies to the Government, and the fastest Friends to King *James*, and the *Pretender*. It is these Men, that on all Occasions, have appear'd against every thing that has tend- ed to the Advantage and Security of the Go- vernment. Since the *King's* Death, (at which they very Insolently and Inhumanly rejoiced) they have made no Scruple of calling him an *USURPER*, and treating his Memory with the utmost Indignity and Contempt. And as for her *Majesty*, they tell all the World she does well to keep the Crown till she can deliver it up to the *Righteous Heir*. They have reviv'd *Unlimited Passive Obedience* to blacken the *Revolution*, and *Hereditary Right*, to undermine and destroy the *Protestant Succession*. Indeed for Two or Three Years past, some of these Men have pretended a mighty Zeal and Affection for the House of *Hanover*; and to make amends for their having always oppos'd that Illustrious Family; they are now for giving them more than ever their old Friends ever thought of, I mean an *Hereditary Right*.

' I must confess (to use the Words of an Ingeni-
' ous Gentleman) I am one of those who lay no
' manner of Stress upon their *Hereditary Right*:
" That

' That is a Right no one ever talk'd of at *Han-*
 ' *over* a few Years ago, but the *Old Countess* of
 ' *Bellamont the Pretender's Nurse*. If any body
 ' has been there since to Compliment her Royal
 ' Highness upon her *Hereditary Right* ; I am very
 ' apt to think that they found her Highness
 ' *their humble Servant for that*, as the *witty Bishop*
 ' of *Exeter* said to Mr. *Hoadly* upon another Oc-
 ' casion. But what Forehead must some People
 ' have, to pretend *now* that a Person has a *Divine*
 ' *Hereditary Right*, whom they wou'd not so much
 ' as allow to be Naturaliz'd the other Day. I
 ' pray God to send her *Royal Highness* her *Parlia-*
 ' *mentary Right* when he thinks fitting ; and the
 ' *Pretender* his *Parliamentary Right* too.' But if
 these People give the House of *Hanover* a Right
 they do not pretend to ; (with what Views they
 do this is *best* known to themselves, tho' they are
 pretty visible too, to the rest of the World) Yet
 many of their *Faction* allow them *no Right* at all.
Lesly (a profess'd *Non-juror*, and yet much caress'd
 and admir'd by a vast number of the *Clergy*) tells
 us, among many other things of the like Nature,
 ' That *Hereditary Right* is a *stubborn thing* and won't
 bend to I know not how many *Acts of Parliament*.
 Nothing is more common among the Party than
 speaking with much *Coldness*, and sometimes *Con-*
tempt of the *Protestant Succession*. Some of 'em
 call the House of *Hanover* the *Unnecessary Come-*
over ; while others are Cursing *King William* for
 such a Legacy ; and telling us Things will never
 go well till they are set right. But whatever
 these Men may imagine an *universal Perjury* in
 falsifying the Oath of *Abjuration* ; and a *Popish*
Pretender ruling, I shou'd say, *Inslaving* these Na-

* Letter to Sir J. B.

tions, will scarce be thought, by any but themselves, a means of setting Things right or procuring of publick Happiness and Prosperity.

I make no doubt indeed, but that such shocking things as these come from the worst, or at least from the most imprudent Men among them. But they all agree in this, that in Hereditary Monarchies the Right unalienably descends to the next in Blood; and consequently if the Pretender be Legitimate (as most of 'em think he is) it is in him even now, but however can't possibly ever be in the House of Hanover. And shall any now who do indeed love the Protestant Religion, and the Protestant Succession, contribute to the dreadful Mischiefs the setting aside that Succession, must bring on us, by giving into the Notion of an Hereditary Right? It is plain our Laws do not regard any such Right. The King and Parliament have always had and us'd a Power of settling, directing and binding the Descent of the Crown in the Royal Blood, different from the common Course of other Inheritances; and have often prefer'd the mediate Heir to the immediate, as lately the Queen was prefer'd before the Pretender, without taking notice of his Illegitimacy; the House of Hanover before the House of Savoy. And by the 13 Eliz. which is in Substance reviv'd by the late Act of the Queen, it is made High Treason to deny, That this Power is in the Crown, and two Houses of Parliament. What an occasion therefore have we to make the Crown hang upon her Majesty's Head, only by a Slipknot of Hereditary Right, when 'tis so hard bound on by Parliament? Especially when by asserting that Right as the only Right, we quite destroy the Title of the Protestant Successors; and by representing it as the best Right we do extremely

tremely *weaken* it, and serve the Purposes of our Enemies. I say no more on this Subject, because it is fully handled by many celebrated Pens; particularly by Mr. *Steele* in his *CRISIS*, which I hope every Man in Great Britain (that can read) has read before this time: And Mr. *Asgil's* Answer to the *Hereditary Right*, &c.

This is what I thought proper to offer to the Consideration of those Men among us, who do allow the Lawfulness of Resistance in such a Case as the *Revolution*; but think it improper publickly to own it; and are heartily engag'd in favour of the *Protestant Succession*, and yet lay a mighty Stress upon *Hereditary Right*; and I hope it is sufficient to convince them that it is very reasonable, and for the Advantage of the present happy Establishment, to lay down the Doctrine of Submission with some Limitations, and to rely rather upon the *Parliamentary* than *Hereditary* Right.

But there are another sort of Men who differ from *these*, as much as from the *Low Church-Men* themselves. They are those that deny the Lawfulness of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever, that allow no Case wherein 'tis lawful for a Nation to defend its Constitution from the Attempts of such Governours as set themselves to destroy it. Of these Men there are *two* Sorts; for tho' they do agree in condemning all manner of Resistance, yet they *differ* in the Consequences they deduce from thence. Some of them contend for the *Lawfulness* of the *Revolution*, but then imagine it was founded upon King *James's* voluntary *Abdicating*, or *Deserting* the Throne, without any Resistance offer'd by his Subjects: But others, as (with the former) they maintain the Unlawfulness of Resistance in any Case whatsoever,

foever, so also that at the Revolution, there was Resistance offer'd to King *James*, and consequently was unlawful in all the Steps of it.

Against these Men therefore I shall undertake to maintain these *two Things*, viz. That the Revolution was brought about by, and founded upon *Resistance*, and not upon any such *Abdication* as they contend for: And that *such Resistance* is justifiable by *Scripture* and *Reason*, and every way agreeable to the Constitution of this *Government*, and the Principles of the Church of *England*.

§ I. Now as to the *first* it seems the most absurd of any thing in nature to affirm that there was no *Resistance* at the Revolution, but that King *James* did voluntarily *Abdicate the Throne*. As if he, good Man! was so tir'd with the weight of a Crown, that he was resolv'd to throw that Burden upon his Son-in-Law: For this is the Sense these Gentlemen wou'd put upon the Word, *ABDICATION*. But can any Man in his Wits believe, That, that unfortunate Prince was really willing to relinquish three Flourishing Kingdoms, with a standing Revenue of Two Millions a Year, to be a Pensioner to the *French King*, and depend upon a Stranger's Courtesy for his Subsistence? And yet if his withdrawing himself from the Government had been perfectly *Voluntary*, and had not been preceded by a Course of *Maleadministration*) it is the Opinion of very good Judges, that by the *Law of England*, no Advantage cou'd be taken of it, without a Summons sent after him to return in Forty Days. But the Case was quite otherwise. I dont mean that at the *Revolution* there was any Design to hurt the King's Person; which by the Laws is *Inviolable* and *Sacred*; but certainly his *Illegal Measures*,

Measures, and Attempts upon our Constitution were *Resisted* and *Oppos'd*, as he *himself* was also, in the Prosecution of them. If it were necessary, I might prove this by the several Instances of Resistance that were then offer'd to him; but that is so particularly done by others, and they are indeed so well known to all, that I shall omit it. Only I cannot pass over the Conduct of such of our Nobles and Gentlemen as invited over the Prince of *Orange*, and who acted in Concert with him when he came. One of the Chief of these was the *Earl* (afterwards *Duke*) of *Devonshire*, who with divers of the Nobility and Gentry rendezvouz'd at *Nottingham*, where they subscrib'd a *Declaration*, in which they thus express'd themselves: *We own it Rebellion to Resist a King that governs by Law; but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to RESIST such a one we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence, &c.* A few Days after this, the Princess of *Denmark* (now the *Queen's Majesty*) the late *Bishop* of *London*, with others of the first Rank, retired to *Nottingham*, and actually join'd those Gentlemen, who declar'd their Resolution to *Resist* in the most express and formal Manner.

But 'tis pretended that the *Prince* himself declar'd against any *Resistance*: But this Conceit proceeds from a very great Misrepresentation of his *Declaration*. In that indeed he declar'd, That he came not to conquer and enslave the *Nation*, as was suggested by his Enemies: Nor can it be imagin'd (says his Highness) that those who have invited us can join in a wicked Attempt of Conquest, to make void their own Lawful Titles to their Ho-

See the History of Resistance, &c.

nours, *Estates and Interest*. The plain meaning of which is only this; That his Design was not to make us *Vassals* to the *Dutch*, and divide the *Gentlemens Estates* among his own *Troopers*, as *William*, Sir-named the *Conqueror* had done. But that he should declare against resisting King *James* and his *Ministers*, who were at that time the *highest Powers* in the Nation, is as groundless a Fiction as any in the World.

The Truth on't is, tho' the very word *Resistance* be not found in his *Declaration*; yet there be other Expressions which do necessarily suppose and infer it. In his *first Declaration*, dated Oct. 10. having enumerated those *Grievances* in Church and State, which he came over to Redress, he *Invited and requir'd all Persons whatsoever to come and Assist him*, in order to the *Executing his Design AGAINST all such as should endeavour to OPPOSE him*. And 'tis impossible this shou'd be done without *Resisting* such Opposers. In a *second Declaration* which disclaims a Design of Conquest, his *Highness* thus expresses himself: *After we had printed our Declaration, We have understood that the Subverters of the Religion, and Laws of these Kingdoms hearing of our Preparations to ASSIST the People AGAINST them, have begun to Retract some of the Arbitrary Powers that they had assum'd.——The Sense of their Guilt, and a Distrust of their Force, have induced them to offer to the City of London some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions: Now it was King James who had sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, when terrified with the Noise of an Invasion; and told them with his own Mouth, That he wou'd restore their Ancient Charters to them. 'Twas he and his Council, who had retracted their Arbitrary*

Powers, in relation to the Bishop of *London* and *Mazda-len Colledge*: These are the Subverters of whom the *Prince* speaks; and he declares to all the World, that he came to *assist* the People of *England* against them: But how cou'd this be done without resisting those *Opposers*? If the *Queen's* late General in *Spain*, shou'd have declar'd that he was sent over by his Mistress to *assist* the well-affected People against the Duke of *Anjou* and his Adherents; wou'd it not have been the same thing with declaring for *Resistance* against the said Duke? The same may be said in Relation to the Prince of *Orange*.

Add to this, that *Mens Intentions* may be as fully declar'd by their *Actions* as by their *Words*. When his *Highness* brought over an Army of 14000 Men, this was a more full and ample Declaration of his Design to awe King *James* into a Compliance, than any Words that he was capable of using: Besides, there was *Resistance* actually made by his Troops at *Wincanton* and *Reading*, where several Men were kill'd and wounded: And when he came near *London*, the *Dutch* Guards march'd thro' *St. James's Park* with lighted Match, and in a fighting Posture, in order to relieve the Posts at *White-Hall*, and wou'd have cut King *James's* Guards in Pieces, had they not dislodg'd, or lost their own Lives in the Attempt. In one Word, If the *Prince* had declar'd against *Resistance* to King *James's* Forces, and acted upon that Principle, he must have fallen a Sacrifice to his Resentments without Remedy and so must all those who join'd him: It wou'd be but little Encouragement for any to lift under his Banner, to tell them they must submit to be cut in Pieces without *Resistance*: A Man must first shake Hands with *Humanity* it self, before
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such a senseless Imagination can find any Harbour in his Bosom. And indeed what did the Prince of *Orange* come here with an armed Force for, if there were any thing in this wild Conceit? Here were People enough to endeavour our Preservation by *Prayers* and *Tears*; there was no need of *Him* and 14000 *Dutch-men* to assist 'em with *those Arms*. So that I suppose it pretty plain, that there was positive Resistance us'd at the Revolution against King *James*; both by the Prince of *Orange*, and those who invited him over, or join'd him when he arriv'd; such Resistance as was accounted by King *James*, and wou'd really have been *High Treason*, if it had been offer'd to a Prince governing by *Law*; and consequently Resistance was the Cause of the *Abdication*, rather than the *Abdication* (or as they understand the Word) his withdrawing himself, the Cause of the *Vacancy of the Throne*, and the Revolution.

It was indeed voted by the *Convention*, that *K. James* had *Abdicated* the Government; but then they were not so mad as to understand by that only, his going away, (which as an ingenious Man observes, was the best Thing that ever he did in his Life). For if his former Attempts upon the Liberties and Religion of his People, were not sufficient to justify the Measures they had taken to preserve them; then it would follow unavoidably, that all those were Rebels and Traytors, who had invited, join'd, or were prepar'd to join the Prince of *Orange*, before the 10th of *December*, 1688. when our Deliverance was completed. The Truth is, if his withdrawing himself had not come after a Course of illegal Government, which excus'd the Subjects from their Allegiance; the withdrawing upon the Apprehension of Danger to his Person (how ill ground-

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ed soever those Fears were) could no more be call'd an *Abdication*, than King *Charles II.* going beyond Sea after *Worcester* Fight : That could never have voided his Right, nor made the Throne vacant ; but only because it shew'd a determin'd Resolution to persist in that illegal Pretension to be above the Law, and to set it aside as oft as it stood in his Way : And it was upon this Account, that the *Convention* voted *K. James* had abdicated the Government, as appears from the Conferences on this Subject. And as the Word *Abdicate* was seldom made Use of before that Time, and was first introduc'd by the *Lower-House*, 'tis all the Reason in the World we should have recourse to them to understand the meaning of it, and in what *Sense* they took it.

The *Lords* and *Commons* had several Conferences about this very Word ; the Managers for the latter, were (among others) *Mr. Sommers* (since *Lord Sommers*,) *Sergeant Holt*, and *Sir George Treby*, all of them Men of Renown and Eminence upon the Account of their great Abilities, and Skill in their Profession. But let us hear the Interpretation which they had given, * ‘ The Word ‘ *Abdicate* says the first of these great Men) signifies entirely to renounce, throw off, disclaim, ‘ relinquish any thing, whether it be done by ‘ Words, or in writing, or by doing such Acts ‘ as are inconsistent with the holding or retaining of the Thing ; which the *Commons* take to ‘ be the present Case. ’ Concluding his learned Oration in these Words, ‘ By avowing to govern ‘ by a *Despotick Power*, unknown to the Constitution, and inconsistent with it (*K. James*) hath ‘ renounc'd to be a King according to the Law,

* *Debate at large.* Page 9.

such a King as he swore to be at the Coronation,
 such a King to whom the Allegiance of an
English Subject is due ; and hath set up another
 Kind of Dominion, which is to all Intents an
Abdication, or abandoning of his Royal Title,
 as fully as if it had been done by express
 Words.

To the same Purpose, the late Lord Chief
 Justice *Holt* deliver'd himself, in that famous Con-
 ference. * ' If your *Lordships* (says he) mean a
 voluntary express *Act*, or formal *Deed* of Re-
 nunciation, I confess I know of none in this
 Case. Your *Lordships* may please to observe, the
 Government and Magistracy is under a Trust,
 and an acting contrary to that Trust, is a re-
 nouncing of the Trust, tho' it be not a renoun-
 cing by formal *Deed* ; for it is a plain Decla-
 ration by *Act* and *Deed*, tho' not in *Writing*,
 that he who hath the Trust, acting contrary,
 is a *Disclaimer of the Trust*. This is so plain
 (says he) that I need only repeat it, and leave
 it, with your *Lordships*, that the doing an *Act*,
 inconsistent with the Being and End of a
 Thing, or that shall not answer the End of
 that Thing, but quite the contrary, that shall
 be construed an *Abdication*, and formal *Renun-
 ciation* of that Thing.

Sir George Treby (afterwards also Lord Chief
 Justice) speaks to the same Purpose. † ' That a
 King (says he) may *Abdicate* or *Renounce* his
 Kingship, I take for granted, it being an *Act*
 of the Will : Then let us now enquire into the
 Facts, as set out in the Votes, whether this
 Will of his be manifest ? For that you have
 heard, it may be discovered several Ways ; the

* *Debate at large*, &c. Page 11. † *Ibid.* Page 23.

' Discovery may be by Writing; it may be
 ' by Words, it may be by Facts; *Grotius* him-
 ' self, and all the Authors that treat of this Mat-
 ' ter, and the Nature of it, do agree, That if
 ' there be any Word or Action that doth suffici-
 ' ently manifest the Intention of the Mind and
 ' Will, to part with his Office, that will amount
 ' to an *Abdication* or Renouncing.

' Now, my *Lords*, I beg leave to put this
 ' Case, That had King *James II.* come here in-
 ' to the Assembly of Lords and Commons, and
 ' express'd himself in Writing, or Words to this
 ' Purpose, I was born an Heir to the Crown of
 ' *England*, which is a Government limited by
 ' Laws made in full Parliament, by King, Nobles
 ' and Commonalty; and upon the Death of my
 ' last Predecessor I am in Possession of the
 ' Throne; and now I find I can't make Laws
 ' without the Consent of the Lords and Repre-
 ' sentatives of the Commons in Parliament; I
 ' cannot suspend Laws that have been so made,
 ' without the Consent of my People; this in-
 ' deed is the Title of Kingship I hold by origi-
 ' nal Contract, and the fundamental Constituti-
 ' ons of the Government, and my Succession to,
 ' and Possession of the Crown on these Terms,
 ' is Part of that Contract; this Part of the Con-
 ' tract I am weary of, I do renounce it, I will
 ' not be obliged to observe it; nay, I am under
 ' an invincible Obligation not to comply with
 ' it; I will not execute the Laws that have been
 ' made, nor suffer others to be made, as my
 ' People shall desire for their Security in Religi-
 ' on, Liberty and Property, which are the two
 ' main Parts of the Kingly Office in this Nation.
 ' I say, suppose he had so express'd himself,
 ' doubtless this had been a plain *Renouncing* of
 ' that

that *Legal regular Title* that came to him by Descent: If then he by particular Acts, such as are enumerated in the Vote, has declar'd as much or more than these Words can amount to, then he thereby declar'd his Will to renounce the Government: He hath by these Acts mention'd, manifestly declar'd, that he will not govern according to the Laws made; nay, he cannot so do; for he is under a strict Obligation (yea, the strictest) and superior to that of the original Contract between King and People, to act contrary to the Laws, or to suspend them.

By the Law he is to administer Justice, and to execute his Office according to the Tenor of those Laws; and the Coronation Oath obligeth him likewise to consent to such Laws as the People shall choose: But on the contrary, by that unfortunate Perswasion (in Point of Religion) that he hath embraced, he is obliged to suspend the Laws that defend the establish'd Religion, and to treat it, as it has been (as we well know) called, as the *Northern Heresy*; and under Pain of Damnation to extirpate it: And in order to it, did set aside and repeal all the legal Fences of it, without Consent of Parliament. What the Endeavours and Practices of that kind have been in the late Reign, I suppose we are not now to be told of or instructed in; and if (as is very plain) this doth amount to a manifest Declaration of his Will no longer to retain the Exercise of his Kingly Office, thus limited, thus restrained, then in common Sense, as well as legal Acceptation, he has sufficiently declar'd his *Renouncing of the very Office*. As for his Departure out of the Kingdom, 'tis not Material whether it was
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voluntary

‘ voluntary, or involuntary; but it is sufficient
 ‘ that his Acting declares, *quo animo*, he went
 ‘ away, he no longer wou’d pursue what he de-
 ‘ sign’d, and was so strongly obliged to the con-
 ‘ trary by the Duty of his Office and Relation,
 ‘ and the Obligation of the Original Contract,
 ‘ as likewise his own Coronation Oath, and then
 ‘ he desires no longer to be here.

‘ So that taking both these Things together
 ‘ that he will not, nay, he cannot (as thus per-
 ‘ suaded in point of Religion) Govern accord-
 ‘ ing to Law; and thereupon hath withdrawn
 ‘ himself out of the Kingdom: It is a manifest
 ‘ Declaration of his express *Renouncing* and
 ‘ *parting with his Kingly Office*: And therefore I
 ‘ cannot depart from the insisting upon this Word
 ‘ *Abdicated*, which doth so well correspond to
 ‘ the Fact of the Case, and so well expresses the
 ‘ true meaning of the Commons in their Vote. *

And afterwards he says, ‘ It is because the
 ‘ King hath thus Violated the Constitution, by
 ‘ which the Law stands both as the Rule of the
 ‘ King’s Government and the People’s Obedience,
 ‘ that we say he hath *Abdicated* and *Renounced* the
 ‘ Government.’ —

This was the Interpretation given by the Com-
 mons, and in this the Lord’s acquiesced. And by
 this it is evident, that by King James’s *Abdica-
 tion* the Parliament did not mean a *voluntary Re-
 linquishing*, or *willing Resignation* of his Crown;
 but his taking those Courses which were de-
 structive of the very Ends of Government, and
 inconsistent with the Trust repos’d in him as *su-
 preme Magistrate*: And therefore we find in the
Acts of Rights, Primo Gul. & Mar. the Case thus

* Debate at large, P. g. 27.

express'd: *Whereas, the late King JAMES the II^d, by the Assistance of divers evil Councillors, Judges and Ministers employ'd by him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom: Which is there made out by an Enumeration of sundry Particulars. And not long after there are these Words: And whereas the late King James the II^d, hath Abdicated the Government, and the Throne is thereby Vacant, &c.*

But I shall end this Argument, when I have observ'd that even those who have been most Zealous in putting this *Whim* into People's Heads, have been forc'd to give it up, and own there was *Resistance* at the *Revolution*. Tho' the famous Doctor expressly affirm'd in his *Sermon* at *St. Paul's*, that King *William* disclaim'd the least Imputation of *Resistance* at the *Revolution*; yet, in his *Answer* to the Articles of *Impeachment*, he says, he meant it *only* of such a *Resistance* as *tended to the Conquest of this Realm*; and upon his *Trial*, it was allow'd by his Council particularly, and in the most expressive Terms, by the present Lord Chancellor; that in Cases of extream Necessity, an Exception was to be admitted in the general Doctrine of Submission, and that such was the Case of the *Revolution*. By which they granted *all* that the Doctor in his *Sermon* deny'd, and *all* that the Commons contended for; and as much as any, who are run down with the Name of *Low Church-Men* ever affirm'd.

§. II. As I have prov'd undeniably, that there was *Resistance* at the *Revolution*; it is now necessary that I shew, how reasonable and justifiable such *Resistance* is; and this I shall do, by shewing in as brief a Manner as I can, that it is every Way agreeable to *Scripture* and *Reason*; to the

Constitution of the *Engish Government*, and the Principles of the *Church of England*.

But before I do this, it will be proper to lay down as plainly as may be, the Nature of that Resistance the *Low Church-Men* contend for, and upon what Occasions it may be us'd; and tho' I have done it already in a few Hints, yet I think it necessary to insist more largely on this Point, because of the perpetual Misrepresentation some Men make of the Case. They tell you that *Revolution Principles* will justify all the *Rebellions* in the World: But I shall make it appear, that as the Persons who do defend the *Revolution*, do not intend to justify any *Rebellions*; so there is nothing in their *Principles* that gives the least Encouragement to them. *Revolution Principles* cannot justify *Resistance*, but when the Provocations given by a Prince are such as were then given by King *James*; and when there is the same Occasion for *Resistance*, they think it ought to be conducted by the same Rules; no Injury shou'd be offer'd to the Person of a Prince by his Subjects, while they are resisting and opposing his illegal and arbitrary Measures and Ministers.

But all that the *Low Church-men* advance in this Point, may be better seen by laying down these plain Propositions.

1. The King acting according to his Power, not exceeding the Authority which God and the *Laws* have conferred on him, is no Way to be oppos'd, either by any or all of his Subjects, but is to be obey'd for Conscience sake.

2. If the Will and Command of the King exceed the Limits of the Law, yet for the avoiding of Scandal and Offence, it ought to be submitted to, so it be not contrary to God's Law, nor bring with it such an Evil to our selves and the Publick,

Publick, that we cannot be accessory to it by obeying. Disobedience in light Cases, in which we are not bound, makes an Appearance of slighting the Power, and is a Disrespect to the Person of the Magistrate: Therefore *Christ*, to avoid such Offence, would pay Tribute, tho' he tells *Peter* he was free, and need not have done it.

3. If he command a Thing which the Law gives him no Authority to command, and it be such as it would be very inconvenient to obey; in this Case, Obedience may lawfully be deny'd, and Appeal must be made to the Law for Redress.

4. If he exceed the Limits of the Law, and proceed in Courses illegal, Subjects are then to make use of all proper Means to reduce him to a legal Government; such as Prayer to God, Petition to the Prince, &c.

5. But if he proceed to such Attempts upon the *Fundamental Rights* of his People, as must end in the *Destruction and Dissolution of the Government*, it will then be lawful for them to defend themselves by *Positive Resistance*.

6. Yet here Care must be taken that no Violence be offer'd to the Person of the Prince, which by the *Laws* is sacred and inviolable.

7. But for Instruments of Oppression of Publick Liberty, if by having impos'd on, and abus'd the King's Mind, they either violently oppose coming to Justice, or are protected by him in their illegal Courses, the Nation may then assist by Arms to bring them by Force to a Tryal, and the Punishment their Crimes deserve: Or if such Instruments execute any of the illegal Commands of the Prince, and attempt without and against Law, to deprive his Subjects of their Lives and Estates,

Estates, and no other Means of Prevention but Force be left, undoubtedly it may be used : For the Measure of the King's Government being the Law, he cannot confer Authority to any beyond it ; and so those Agents, deriving no Authority from him, are meer Instruments of his Will, unauthorized Persons ; and in their Assaults are Robbers and Cut-throats, and may be dealt with accordingly.

If the Case be put, What if the Sovereign himself, in Person, be present with such Instruments, joining his *Personal* Assistance in the Execution of his Commands ? This must needs be a rare Case which can seldom happen ; for bad Princes are hardly ever known to stoop so low, as to be the Executioners of their own Cruelty and Violence ; they generally reserve themselves for a better Office. Yet supposing such a Case, all Counsels and Courses must be taken, that no Violence be offer'd to his Person, and Profession of none intended : But there is no Reason the Presence of his Person should privilege ruining Instruments from Suppression, and give them an Immunity to spoil and destroy Subjects better than themselves.

8. If a Prince shou'd succeed in his Attempts so far as to over-turn and destroy our Constitution, and refuse to come to legal Remedies, this certainly wou'd entirely cancel the Allegiance of the Subject, which was due to an *English* King, to a King governing by the known Laws, and not to a Person taking on him to rule the People by meer Will and Pleasure ; for in all Relations, where the *Foundation* is taken away, the Relation and the Obligations arising out of it, are destroy'd ; and therefore the Rights of our Princes arising out of our Legislature, the setting that
aside

aside destroys the Foundation even of the Princes
 Authority, and so releases the Subject. Now this
 was the very Case at the Revolution; King James
 was carry'd by *Popish* Councils to publish a Decla-
 ration, in which he assum'd a Power of dispen-
 sing with the Laws; upon that he set aside a
 great many, and acted in a publick Opposition to
 them and Contempt of them: One of these went
 to the Root of our Constitution: He put Judges,
 Sheriffs and Magistrates, who were under legal
 Incapacities, into all Employments; all their Pro-
 ceedings were so many Nullities: So the whole
 Justice and Government of the Land was broke
 into, and even the calling a legal Parliament to
 redress all was impossible. Thus no Man knew
 what he had, or what he could depend on; and
 as one Declaration set aside all Laws relating to
 Religion, so another upon the same Grounds,
 and with the same Justice might have set aside all
 Laws relating to Liberty and Property. These
 were no Jealousies and Fears, but what was open-
 ly acted and avowed; and they were not Grie-
 vances from Ministers and Judges only, but the
 publick Actings of the Prince himself. It was
 a Crime to complain, nor was any Redress to be
 come at: This Subversion of the Law was the
 destroying *that*, upon which his own Authority
 did depend, and the *Obligation* of his Subjects to
 Obedience and Submission was founded. And
 whatever some Men imagine, this is no *new* Do-
 ctrine, but has been *taught* and practis'd upon
 too, for many Ages. *Bracton* proves, that the
 King is under the Law, and ought to govern
 by Law, because he is made King by the Law, and
 receives his Power and Authority from the Law;
 and then adds, *He is no King, (i. e. no English*
King) who governs by Arbitrary Will, and not by Law:
 And

And this is evident as from the Oath of Allegiance, in which we swear to obey the King, &c. according to *Law*, (from whence we are call'd his *Leige* People, and he our *Leige* Lord, that is, our *lawful* Lord) so also from the *Coronation Oath*, in which he swears to govern according to *Law*. Laws and Oaths in limited Governments, are Obligations upon King and People, and must be interpreted according to the Nature of the Government, so as to prove Fences for the Constitution, and not Handles to overthrow it; as the *Coronation Oath*, and Oath of *Allegiance* are, in effect, but swearing to the Constitution, in one to govern, and in the other to be govern'd according to it: But if a *Coronation Oath* be a Tie upon a King only to *God*, and the Oath of *Allegiance* be extended to an *absolute Subjection*, then both King and People swear *against* the Constitution, instead of swearing to maintain it. Besides, that the contrary Supposition destroys all Property; for to *have no Liberties and Privileges*, and not to be allow'd to *Defend* them, when *invaded*, is the same Thing; as it also is, to be govern'd by meer Will and Pleasure, or by Laws subject to that Will and Pleasure.—

But this brings me back to my Subject, which was to shew that *Resistance*, in the Case I have stated, is agreeable to *Scripture* and *Reason*, to the *Constitution* of the *English Government*, and the *Principles* of the Church of *England*.

i. As to *Scripture*, I know nothing is more common than to pretend, that this Doctrine is flatly condemn'd by it; and to make this out, there's not a Text in the *Bible*, that says any Thing about Government or Obedience, but has been rack'd and tortur'd, 'till it has been made to speak the Language of *absolute Submission*.

Thus

Thus a young Divine, when preaching upon that Saying of Christ, *Render to Caesar the Things that are Caesar's, and to God the Things that are God's*; shall tell the People, that from the Division of the Text, it is plain, that whatever is not *Caesar's*, must needs be *God's*, for no one else is concern'd; and then back it with that pretty Fancy, *God and Caesar divide the World*; but then, to make all sure, we must be told too, that *all Kings and Queens* are the *same Things* with *Caesar's*, and invested with the *same Powers*, and consequently all we have in the World belongs to them, if it be not pre-engaged to *God*: From whence it will follow, that nothing is left to us; the *Tithes* are *God's*, and all the rest is *Caesar's*: So that at last, 'tis the *CHURCH* and *CÆSAR* that divide the World betwixt them. This is not the only Instance might be given of this kind: Nothing is more common, than for the Zealots in this Cause to run away with the *Words* and *Letter* of a *Text*, and leave the *true Sense* and *Meaning* of it behind them; which has often brought to my Mind, a Passage in *Bishop Patrick's Friendly Debate*, where he makes an ignorant Dissenter say, That their Ministers never say any Thing without quoting Scripture for it; all their Sermons are nothing else: And then replies, *I remember I have heard a wise Man say, that one may talk nothing but Scripture, and yet speak never a wise Word: And I verily believe it, for 'tis not the Word of God, when we mistake its Sense, as you commonly do. And I verily believe too, the most Enthusiastical among the Dissenters, did never wrest and mistake the Sense of Scripture to support their wild Opinions, more than some others have done to maintain their Notions of Absolute Passive Obedience,*

and Submission to illegal Violence and Oppression.

To support this, the *first Verses* of the 13th Chapter to the *Romans*, are thought the most serviceable of any in the *Bible*: And yet I hope to make it appear, there's not a Line *there*, that lays any Obligation upon Christians to submit in such a Case, but fully leaves them at Liberty to defend themselves. The Words are these, *Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; the Powers that be are ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the Power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works but to the Evil, &c.* Upon which they form several Arguments for *absolute Submission* and *Non-Resistance*, that shall be now particularly consider'd.

The first is taken from the *unlimitedness* of the Apostle's Expressions, who does not (say they) allow any Case in which 'tis lawful for Subjects to resist. *

In Answer to which, let it be consider'd, that it is very common in *Scripture*, to give Rules in general and unlimited Terms, which yet are not without their Exceptions; as is evident in the Case of Obedience of *Children to Parents*, and of *Servants to Masters*; and in those Rules, *Swear not at all; Speak Evil of no Man; Pray without ceasing; Rejoyce evermore; Give to every one that asketh*; and particularly in the Case of *private injurious Persons*, in which our Saviour himself hath laid down *Non-Resistance* in more express and more absolute Words, than St. Paul has done here, with respect to Princes. *I say unto you*

* See this more fully answer'd in Mr. Hoadly's Measures of Submission, Page 53. &c.

(says he) *resist not evil*, Mat. 5. 39. By which we are not to understand an evil *Thing*, for that must be resisted, but an evil *Person*. And yet notwithstanding this express and absolute Prohibition, all will allow that such evil Men, as *Robbers* and *Murderers* may be resisted. It will, I suppose, be said, that there is an Exception *imply'd* in that Place, tho' not express'd ; and what Reason can be given, why there should not be the same in the other ? Why may not the Words of St. Paul be taken in a limited Sense, as well as those of our Saviour ? Why may not a *Nation* defend its Constitution against a *publick Tyrant*, as well as a *particular Man* his Purse against a *private Robber*, the one (for ought any Thing appears in the Text) being as much forbidden by *Christ*, as the other by St. Paul.

2. It is again argu'd, That Governours acting by a Divine Commission, and being God's Vicegerents upon Earth, may not, upon any Account whatsoever, be resisted by their Subjects ; for whosoever *resisteth the Power* (says St. Paul) *resisteth the Ordinance of God.* *

But now nothing can be plainer, than that St. Paul by the Rulers and the Powers to which he here presseth *Non-Resistance*, means such as answer the End of their Institution, and are the Ministers of God to Men for good. The whole Scope of his Reasoning, and the Characters he gives of them are a sufficient Evidence of this. But if he had only said in *general* that Governours having their Power from God, must not for that Reason, be resisted, it wou'd certainly have been very natural to infer that it cou'd be only a Power of doing Good and of promoting the Happiness of that

* See this also largely handled by Mr. Hoadly, in his Measures of Submission : and Answer to the Bishop of Exeter.

Society over which they are plac'd; and it would, at first sight, have appear'd very absurd to say that the infinitely *Good God* had given any Man Power to do that which is Evil. The *Light of Nature* will tell us that 'tis absolutely impossible for *God* to give any Man a Commission to act in Contradiction to his Nature and Laws. If Kings have their Power from *God* (as no doubt they have) it can be only the Power of doing good; for *God* himself has no other Power; they cannot then exceed their Principal; He can give them no other Power than what he is invested with himself: They can therefore have no Power from him to do Injustice, Violence, Oppression, or any Manner of Mischief; and therefore when they are doing *these*, they are so far from acting by *God's* Authority, that they are bidding *Defiance* to his Will: Nor can they in such Instances, be call'd his Vicegerents without the highest Profaness; and therefore to oppose them in such Cases, cannot be to oppose the Authority of *God*. So that to me, it seems as plain as that two and two make four, that tho' the Authority of a Prince in carrying forward the End of his Power, cannot be resisted without resisting the Ordinance of *God*; yet his Power in acting contrary to that End, in destroying and ruining the publick Happiness, may be oppos'd, without opposing so much as the Shadow of Authority, either from *God* or Man.

This, I think, is a full and just Answer to this Objection; 'tis indeed such an one as has been often given, and as often been flirted at, and endeavour'd to be render'd insufficient, but without Success: And the Truth is, 'tis Demonstration, and there's no getting off it, without recurring to down-right Blasphemy or Nonsense.

2. And yet I have another Consideration to add, and that is, that tho' Princes have their Power from God, yet the Measure of that Power must be taken from the Laws and Constitutions of the Country where they preside : No Man has any more civil Authority than what the Constitution of the Nation has vested in him ; and therefore the Law of the Land is the best Expounder of the 13th Chapter to the *Romans*, and will give the best Account of the Obedience and Submission there requir'd of us. Now if Princes assume a Power to oppress and destroy their Subjects, in Opposition to the known Laws, they are no better than *Usurpers*, and consequently have no Title to the Submission and Obedience which *St. Paul* requires Christians to pay to their *lawful* Governours ; and certainly the resisting an *usurped illegal* Power, is far enough from resisting the *Ordinance of God*.

Christianity has given no new Measures of Rule and Government, nor of Obedience and Submission ; for *Christ* (as *Dr. Hammond* tells us on 1 *Cor.* 7. 22.) *meddles not with the secular Government of this World*. Our Religion was not intended to make a Change in the Governments of the World ; much less to make a Change so much for the worse, as to render those, who before were only Subjects according to Law, now Slaves to the Will and Pleasure of a Prince ; and therefore there is no Manner of Force in saying (as the Advocates of Slavery commonly do) that *St. Paul* requires absolute Submission to some Princes, therefore he does so to *ALL* Princes. He might possibly require *this* of the *Romans*, who then liv'd under an Absolute Government, where the Will of the Prince was the Law ; and yet we that live under another Form of Government, shall

shall not be obliged to any other Submission, than what is agreeable to our Constitution and Laws. The 13th Chapter to the *Romans*, is as much Scripture in *Poland* as any where else ; and yet this is express'd in the *Coronation Oath* in that Country, *And if I shall violate my Oath, the Inhabitants of the Realm shall not be oblig'd to yield me any Obedience.* Now if the King of *Poland* shou'd violate his Oath, can any be so absurd as to say, the Subjects are notwithstanding oblig'd to Obedience by what *St. Paul* says in that Chapter ? I am sure my Lord Archbishop of *York* has determin'd quite otherwise ; That as the Laws of the Land are the Measures of our active Obedience, so are the same Laws, the Measures of our Submission ; and as we are not bound to obey, but where the Laws and Constitution require our Obedience ; so neither are we bound to submit, but as the Laws and Constitution require our Submission.

I cannot better illustrate this, than by comparing it with a parallel Case ; it is that of the Obedience which is due from *Servants* to their *Masters*. *St. Paul* (speaking of this Matter) lays down their Duty in very absolute Terms ; telling them, that they must obey their *Masters in ALL Things*, *Colos. 3. 22.* And yet the State of Servitude being very different in one Country, from what it is in another ; and differenced in the same Country, by the Variety of Contracts and Agreements ; the Duty and Obedience of *Servants* is not so suppos'd all alike, but is to be measur'd by those Contracts, and those different Customs : And therefore when *St. Paul* exhorts the *Colossian* and *Ephesian* *Servants* to obey their *Masters in all Things*, if some of them were Captives and down-right Slaves, and others only *Servants* by Agreement, and hir'd out themselves
to

to labour in their Callings, for such and such Advantages of Wages and Protection, and upon certain Terms ; though both these Sorts of People might be properly call'd Servants by *St. Paul*, and both exhorted to perform the Duty of Servants to Masters ; yet were it evident, that he did not hereby make the State of their Servitude alike, but said the same Words to them in different Senses, according to the different Condition of their Servitude. To the Slaves and Captives he would say, ' Obey your Masters in all Things ' as becomes your sad Condition, and make your ' Chains as easy as you can by your Compliance ' and Submission " But to the hired Servants he wou'd be understood to say, ' Obey your Masters ' in all Things, according to your Contract and ' Agreement, behave your selves as diligently ' and faithfully as you have promis'd them to do, ' or by the Custom of the Place are presum'd to ' have promis'd them. ' He might exhort the Slaves to obey their Masters even at the *Oar*, and in the *Mines* ; but 'twere not reasonable to think, he shou'd thereby exhort the hired Servants to submit to be sent under Ground, or to the Labour of the Gallies, if their Masters should command them thither. Neither the Customs of the Country, nor the Contract, gave the Masters any such Authority over the hired Servants, and therefore they owe no such Submission and Obedience. And *St. Paul* does not bring them into any new Bondage, but commands and exhorts them to discharge the Duty that they owe by Virtue of their Choice and Undertaking, to serve their Masters in such a Capacity, on such Conditions. In like Manner, if we suppose the *Romans* oblig'd, by what *St. Paul* says, to submit themselves to *Nero*, who was an arbitrary Prince, in

Instances

Instances of great Tyranny and Cruelty ; will it therefore follow that *We of this Nation* must submit our selves to our Princes in the like Instances of Cruelty and Oppression ; altho' by the Laws of the Kingdom, our Princes are not Arbitrary, but bound by their Oaths to govern by known Laws, which expresly say, *The People shall not be used in such a Manner.* Suppose St. Paul had liv'd about 30 Years ago, and had taken Occasion to write to the *Christians* at Constantinople living under the *Turkish* Emperour ; and shou'd have thought fit to have said the same Words which he did to the *Romans*, it would have been very absurd and unreasonable to argue from thence, that the Subjects of *Great Britain, Venice* and *Holland*, must pay the same Obedience in all Regards, to the *King, the Doge, and Prince of Orange*, which the Subjects of the *Turkish* Empire pay to the *Grand Seignior*. It is plain therefore, that *Christianity* does not alter Mens Condition for the worse, nor turn *Freemen* (as the People of *England* certainly are) into Slaves, as to their Lives and Liberties ; neither under the Pretence of Passive Obedience, does it give their Persons, or Estates into the Hands of Violence, when the Law bids them keep them, and protects them in defending them.

Having made so much use of the Case of Servants in this Point, it may not be improper to consider, what St. Peter says to Servants concerning enduring Grief and suffering wrongfully with Patience ; which to some may seem inconsistent with it. The plain and short Account of the Matter lies thus, St. Peter advises *Slaves* (for such were the *Servants* to whom he wrote) who were in a State of perfect Captivity, had forfeited their Lives, and were bought with a Price, into the Arbitrary

Arbitrary Power of their Masters, to bear with the Evil Treatment they might sometimes bestow upon them, putting them in mind that the great Glory of Patience is to bear Injuries and hard Usage without reviling or Revenge; so that if any Thing here can be apply'd to the Case of Subjects, it can be only such as live under an *Arbitrary* and *Despotick* Government; to be sure it can't possibly relate to us, who never forfeited our Lives and Fortunes to our Princes, nor were ever bought with a Price into their Arbitrary Power. What is here said concerning Slaves, cannot be prov'd to hold good with respect to *hir'd Servants*, whom the Christian Religion doth not hinder from insisting upon the Terms of their *Contracts*, or oblige to bear Misery when they can honourably avoid it; much less with Respect to whole Nations of Subjects, who may be allow'd to be something above the Degree of *hired Servants*.

What I have already said upon this Argument will, if apply'd to particular Cases, afford a just Answer to all the Arguments that can be drawn from Scripture, in Favour of *Absolute Passive Obedience*. It wou'd be too tedious a Labour to shew this in every Instance; I shall therefore only consider two of the most weighty Objections against Resistance (in the Case I have stated) taken also from the holy Scriptures.

1. It is objected, that our Blessed Saviour forbade his Disciples to resist those who came unjustly to apprehend and murder him.

In Answer to which, let it be consider'd, that our Lord does not found his Non-Resistance upon the Unlawfulness of the contrary, but upon the Nature of his Design, and his own Resolution to fulfil the Prophecies concerning himself, by a

Passive Obedience. So that all that can be inferr'd from thence, is his coming into the World, being to lay down his Life voluntarily for the Good of Mankind; and the proper Time of doing it being now come, their Resistance and Opposition was not at all proper and convenient.

But supposing our Lord's Permission to proceed from the Sense he had of the Sinfulness of Resisting those who came to apprehend him; (which is not in the least probable) yet this wou'd be no Argument against Resisting in the Case before us. For our Saviour was not set upon in an *illegal* manner, but apprehended by lawful Officers, who had a Warrant from the *Sanhedrim*, the supreme Court of Judicature among the *Jews*, and were aided by the *Roman* Souldiers for fear of a Rescue; or as the Chief Priests and Elders express'd it, lest there shou'd be an *Uproar among the People*: And in Opposition to this Authority, St. Peter drew his Sword, and wounded *Malchus* a Servant or Officer of the High Priest, *Mat. 26. 51.* Dr. *Hammond* says he was the Chief Officer or Foreman of them that had the Warrant to apprehend our Saviour: So that this is a very different Case from Resisting those who offer Violence to us, in Opposition to, and Defiance of the known Laws. Tho' our Blessed Lord was perfectly innocent, *neither was Guile found in his Mouth*, yet he was esteem'd and treated as a Criminal, as a Violater of the Divine Laws, and a Designer to subvert both the Religious and Civil Government of his Country; and therefore it behoved him to appear and answer these Accusations, when legally requir'd to do it, that his Enemies might not have the Advantage of saying, he declined a fair Trial, because his Case would not bear it. But (to take off the Force of this Objection

tion entirely) if we suppose once more, that the Persons who came to apprehend our Saviour had no Authority to do so; yet his practising Non-Resistance on that Occasion, will then be no more binding to us, than his not appealing to *Cæsar* hinder'd *St. Paul* of his Appeal: This is all that can possibly follow, that our Lord thought fit to submit in his own *Private Case* to *Injustice* and *Oppression*. But it can never be inferr'd from thence that it is his Will that whole Nations should submit themselves and their Posterity to be ruin'd at the Will of cruel and unjust Governours.

And here it may not be improper to take notice of what our Blessed Saviour said to *Pilate*, when he ask'd him if he did not know that he had Power to Crucify him, or release him: to which our Lord replies, *Thou could'st have no Power at all against me except it were given thee from above*, John. 19. 10. 11. Which some bring as an Argument for this Doctrine; tho' it seems as Foreign to the Purpose, as any Thing can well be imagin'd; the Meaning of the Words is plainly and only this; that *Pilate* could not have had it in his Power to do any Thing against him, unless God had seen fit to permit it so to be, for wise and excellent Considerations.

4. Yet once more, it is objected that the *Resistance* here contended for, is contrary to the Doctrine, and Practice of the *first Christians* and *Primitive Martyrs*. To which (passing by many things that might be reasonably suggested) I answer that *their Case* and *ours* is widely different. The *Primitive Christians* had the Laws against them, as they are now in our Favour; and therefore, how gloriously soever they might do, in submitting to what they could not legally

avoid, it wou'd certainly be a very needless thing in us to go to *Smithfield*, and there be burnt for Hereticks. I hope many good Protestants wou'd make a Shift to die for their Religion, if they cou'd not *innocently* avoid it; but so long as we have the *Laws* on our Side, we should throw away our Lives, and do more than God requires of us, if we practise any such *Passive Obedience*.

The first Christians suffer'd according to the Laws of their Country: Indeed I cannot say that I think them *such* Laws as demanded their Submission, in point of Conscience, *as being the Ordinance of God*, for they were far enough from being that: But they were Laws made by the *Supreme Powers*; and they were Persecuted according to those Laws, and not in *Opposition* to them. Blessed be God we have our Religion secur'd to us by that supreme Authority, which condemn'd theirs as the highest Crime. And we can never be depriv'd of it, but by our own Treachery in parting with those good Laws which protect it, and agreeing to such as shall destroy it. I hope we shall not do that in haste; and till then, there is not so much as the Shadow of a Reason for our submitting to the Cruelty and Oppression the first Christians were expos'd to; Who tho' they dy'd as Glorious Martyrs in respect of their Religion; yet they suffer'd as Criminals, and Malefactors in the Eye of the Law. And therefore (to conclude this in the words of a very great Man) *I much wonder at those Men who recommend to us of this happy Island, the Prayers and Tears, and Passive Obedience of the first Christians, and such-like last Remedies, which can never be proper but at such a time as the Laws of our Country are arm'd against our Religion. Which (all Thanks be to God!) is none of*
our

our Case at present, and I hope never will be so, so long as the Sun and Moon endureth.

I will presume this sufficient to shew the Unreasonableness of making the first Christians an Example to us now, in Cases so diametrically opposite. No body that I know of pretends it lawful for private Persons to resist merely upon the Account of Religion, either to force the Reception of it, or to secure themselves from Persecution, when the lawful Powers are against them. But when the Christian Religion is become the Religion of the Country, and a Part of the Subjects Property by the Laws and Constitutions of the Country, then it is to be consider'd as one of their principal Rights; and so may undoubtedly be defended as well as any other Civil Right. And thus the Behaviour of the Primitive Christians themselves, was *different* according as they had the Laws *for* or *against* them. When they had not Law on their Sides, they took Blows, and gave none; but when they had the Law on their Side, they were rather for *giving* Blows than taking them; as might be made evident by a Variety of Instances, but I pass them over, that I may come to shew that such Resistance is as agreeable to *Right Reason*, as I have shewn it to be to *Scripture and Revelation*.

II. Now methinks nothing can be a plainer Evidence of this, than the Consideration of the Ends God aim'd at, in the Institution of Government; which were certainly neither more nor less, than the Happiness and Security of Mankind. Whatever some have absurdly pretended, Princes are appointed for the promoting of the Felicity and Advantage of their People; and not People made to set off the Glory of their Princes; much less to be the Subjects of their Cruelty and Oppression.

pression. Governours have Authority from God for this very Purpose, to distribute Justice to Mankind, to keep their Nations in Peace and Order, to encourage and protect virtuous and good People, to secure them from the Violence and Malice of wicked and ungovernable ones, and to punish such as stand out against these Ends of Government that are so useful and so necessary to the Being of Society, and the Welfare of Mankind. Now can it ever enter into the Heart of a reasonable Man, that God who communicates Power to Men for such noble Ends as these, should at the same time put it into their Power to contradict all these Ends, and bring upon the World those very Mischiefs they were appointed to prevent. And yet so it must be, if they are equally irresistible when they are ruining and destroying their People, and carrying on the Ends of Government. Upon this Foundation, Power us'd for the Destruction and Ruin of the publick Happiness, may reasonably be thought *Resistible*, under what Form of Government soever. For Government in general, as it derives its Ordination and Appointment from God, so it is circumscribed and limited by him, to be exercis'd in Subserviency to the Glory of the Creator, and the Benefit of Mankind. Nor is it in the Choice or Power of any Society, at their erecting the Forms of Government under which they are contented to live, and at their nominating the Persons to whom they commit the Power of administering the Government, to enlarge and extend the Power of those whom they thus constitute their Rulers, beyond the Limits and Boundaries unto which God hath stated and confin'd Magistrates, in the Charter of Nature and Revelation. Tho' People may both then and afterwards abridge themselves as they think

think meet, in things under their own Disposal, and either narrow or enlarge the Prince's Power, in reference to what they have a Right to retain or depart from, for the real or imagin'd Benefit of the Community; yet they can no ways interpose in the Disposal of the Rights which belong unto God, which he hath incommunicably reserv'd to himself; nor can they confer those Measures and Degrees of Authority unto those whom they elect and advance to Magistracy, which God hath antecedently precluded the one from bestowing, and the other from receiving. No Body of Men (for Example) can transfer a Power unto those vested with Magistratical Authority, in virtue whereof they may ruin and destroy the Happiness of the whole Society; and thereby the Ends of Government. For this is what is already settled by the Authority and Appointment of the Divine Legislator, and universal Sovereign.

But I will not insist upon this, because our Case does not need it. It is very plain, that in our Government the *King* has only a Part in the Supreme Power, and the other Part of it remains with the *Lords* and *Commons*. Now if the King shall take on him to seize that Part which does not belong to him, it will undoubtedly be not only lawful, but highly reasonable to resist him; especially if his grasping at more Power be only in order to enable him to ruine his Subjects, to seize their Properties, and enslave their Persons; which he cou'd not do by his legal Authority; there is Men, no doubt, but by the Law of Nature and Reason, they may defend themselves against such Violence. This is nothing but what is agreeable to the Laws of Nature, and consonant to the highest Reason, and can no more be disputed, than the first Principles of Geometry.

Christia-

Christianity is so far from enslaving us, or divesting us of those Rights and Privileges which we have already, that it encourages us to procure more Liberties and Franchises, if we can come honestly by them: As 1 Cor. 7. 22. *But if thou mayst be made Free, use it rather.* It forbids Men likewise to enslave themselves, *Ver. 23. Ye are bought with a Price, be ye not the Servants of Men:* Which indeed is moreover a Dictate of the Law of Nature, and what Men of themselves would observe if they were not degenerated; for voluntary Slavery is a Sin against the Law of Nature, which no Man in his right Mind can be guilty of. And therefore the *Cannon-Law* says, that *if there had been no Drunkenness, there had been no Slavery.*

III. But I proceed to the next thing, namely, To evince the Correspondency which this Doctrine bears to our *Laws*, and the *English Constitution.*

All that know any thing of *England*, know that the Government of it is a mix'd limited Government, consisting of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy duly temper'd, where the Supreme Power is divided between the *King* and *People*, (or the Lords and Commons) since he can neither raise Money, nor make or annul Laws without them, and those Laws are a Rule to both, a common Measure to him of his Power, and to them of their Obedience; but the Government is call'd a MONARCHY, because that kind is predominant in the Constitution, the King having his Share in the Supreme Power, and the whole executive Part, or Administration, is in him.

Our Government then is a *Limited Monarchy*; limited in the original Frame and Composition of it. Some have talk'd indeed as if the Share the People have in the *Legislature* is only from the Grace and Favour of our Monarchs themselves, who

who are really Absolute and Supreme, but have been pleas'd, at the Suit, and for the Good of the People, to let their Power run into Act, thro' such a Course, and Current of Law: But that if they at any time shall think fit, on great Causes, to vary from that way, and use the full Extent of their Power, none ought to contradict, or refuse to obey. But this is a meer Chimera; for there cannot be a more clear and undoubted Truth, than that the Authority of this Land is of a compounded and mix'd Nature in the very Root and Constitution thereof; and consequently that the Authority and Sovereignty of our Kings is not Boundless and Absolute, but radically and fundamentally Limited and Determin'd; so that the Acts which they command to be done without, and against the Laws, are perfectly invalid, and lay no Obligation upon the Subject.

Had we no other Proof of this, yet that of *Prescription* were sufficient: In all Ages and Times immemorial, the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom have been the Rule of Government; Liberties have been stood upon, and Grants thereof, with Limitations of Royal Power, made and acknowledged by *Magna Charta*, and other publick and solemn Acts; and no Obedience acknowledg'd to be due but that which is according to Law, nor claim'd but under some Pretence or Title of Law.

But the very Being of our Common and Statute Laws, and our Kings acknowledging themselves bound to govern by them, does farther prove and prescribe them Limited. For those Laws are not of their sole composing, nor were they establish'd by their sole Authority, but by the Concurrence of the other two Estates; every Act being enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, and by the

Authority of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

And this may be made appear too from the ancient ordinary and receiv'd Denominations ; for the King is call'd our *Liege*, that is, *Legal Sovereign* ; and we his *Lieges*, i. e. his *Legal Subjects*. What do these Names argue, but that his Sovereignty, and our Subjection is *Legal*, that is, restrained by Law.

I might bring a Thousand *Authorities* to support this, from *Bracton*, Chancellor *Fortescue*, *Horn*, and other old and learned Writers ; I might produce also the Acknowledgments of almost all the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England*, who upon one Occasion or another, have declar'd with King *Charles I.* that ** the Law is the Measure of their Power*. But 'tis perfectly needless ; every *Act of Parliament* saying as expressly, as any Words that can well be devised, that the only Measure of the King's Authority, and the People's Submission, is the *Law of the Land*.

Now from these Premises I will beg Leave to make a few Conclusions that will *demonstrate* the Consistence of *Resisting* the illegal Attempts of Governours to destroy their Subjects with Law, and the Constitution of the *English* Government.

For 1. Since the King of *England* has no *Absolute Authority*, we owe him no *Absolute Subjection* : For (as † *Dr. Sherlock* observes) Authority and Subjection are Correlates ; they have a mutual Respect to each other, and therefore they must stand and fall together. There is no Authority where is no Subjection due ; and there can be no Subjection due, where there is no Authority. So that if a Prince

* Declaration from New Market.

† Case of *Resistance*.

attempts to destroy his Subjects without and against Law (there is no Demonstration for it) they may resist him in those Attempts, without Danger of doing any thing against the Laws. Every Subject of *England* has a legal Property in his Life, Liberty, and Estate; and till they are forfeited by some Offence against the Law, no Man can legally deprive them of 'em; and if any Attempt to do so by Violence, they may legally defend them; for no Man can want Authority to defend his Life and Estate against those who have no Authority to take them away.

Then 2. If the King himself has no Authority to do any thing contrary to Law, much less can he authorize any other Person to do so. No Man can be commission'd to exercise Powers which are illegal and arbitrary, and which the Law says shall not be exercis'd. And therefore all such Commissions are null and void; *i. e.* they are no Commissions. And therefore if a Prince should commission any to make Attempts upon the Life, Liberty, or Property of his Subjects, contrary to Law, if no other means of Prevention but Force be left, there can be doubt but Resistance may be us'd against such Instruments, who in those Assaults are indeed no better than Robbers and Cut-Throats. The Truth is, an illegal Commission is so far from conveying a Power unto any Man to act, that it is a greater Crime to do any thing upon the Authority of it, than it would be to commit the same Fact without all Colour and Pretence of Power and Warrant: Seeing the Injury of the one Case terminates in him that receives it; whereas, in the other, it affects both the

* Ibid. p. 59.

King, the Government, and the whole Body of the People.

But 3dly. If there be not such a Power of Resistance in the Hands of Subjects, then are all the Laws of *England* only so many *Cyphers*: And I need not better Evidence that this Doctrine is according to Law, than that the *contrary* is *against all the Laws of the Nation*. What signifies having the Laws on our Side in this or that Regard, if we have no manner of Right to defend them against those, who may endeavour to invade and subvert them? What Security to a Subject is a Law against *Arbitrary Power*, if it be forbidden the Subject (*by a superior Law*) to put that Law in Execution against that *Arbitrary Power*? What are Privileges worth, what are Liberties good for that cannot be maintain'd and secur'd by such Means as are only proper, only able to secure them and maintain them? What Difference is there betwixt a Prince's governing Arbitrarily without Law, and governing Arbitrarily against Law? Betwixt having no Laws at all, and having precarious Laws that depend entirely on the Will of the Prince, whether he will observe one of them, or subvert them all; and if he does, the People cannot help themselves? Now if this be the Case, and there be really no Difference betwixt Law and no Law, in the Point of the People of *England's* Subjection, then (as Mr. *Johnson* ingeniously expresses it) may the Legislature even shut up their two Houses at *Westminster*, and save themselves the Trouble of their publick Consultations. And while the Passive Doctrine remains, all the Lords and Commons of *England* have no other *Property* in their Lives, Liberties and Estates, than the Duke of *Lorraine*

would have had in his Country with the *French* King's four High-ways of a Quarter of a Mile broad, quite thro' it. For it is the very Doctrine of the Bow-string, or of the Goal and Block, or the Halter: —It makes Slaves and Sacrifices of a whole Nation, whenever a Tyrant comes that will take the Advantage of it. I know 'tis pretended, that these Consequences may be avoided, by other Means that may be us'd in such a Case. We are therefore told, that tho' Subjects may not use forcible Resistance, there are yet other Ways to defend themselves from Ruin. But 'tis clear, that without this, no sufficient Limits can be set to the Prince's Will; and all Laws bounding him are to no Purpose. This will appear if we consider the other Means that are prescrib'd; such as Prayer to God, Petition to the Prince, Denial of Obedience, and Denial of Taxes and Subsidy. But what are these to hinder, if a Prince be minded to overthrow all, and bring the whole Government to his own Will? For Prayer and Petition, these are put in to fill up the Number; for they are no Limitations, but may be used in the most absolute Monarchy: For Denial of Obedience, that may keep me from being an Instrument of publick Oppression, but Princes Wills never want them who will yield Obedience, if I deny it; yea, enough to destroy all the rest, if nothing be left them but to suffer: For (as one observes) a single Arm unresisted might go a great way towards Massacring a Nation, Then, as to the Denial of Subsidy, if he may by Thousands of Instruments take all, or what he or they please, and we may not Resist, what need he care, whether the People deny or grant? The only thing that can be done, is to *Impeach* and *Prosecute* such Instruments for their illegal Acts; but that will prove

as insufficient as the other ; for tho' the People do this, and the Law condemns, and Judges pass Sentence, yet may the Prince prevent the Execution : And 'tis not likely an Arbitrary and Enterprizing Prince will expose his wicked Ministers and Instruments, to the Resentment of an injur'd People. And this is not altogether Conjecture ; it has been too often the way of such Princes, to skreen their Ministers from publick Justice. Thus it is apparent, that the Denial of this Power of Resistance overthrows and makes invalid all Laws and Legal Securities, and reduces the whole World to Absolute Slavery and Subjection : It makes all Governments alike, and brings the People of *England* into the same wretched Condition with those in *France* and *Turkey* ; which one Consideration is enough to shew the Absurdity of *Absolute* Submission in a *Legal* and *Limited* Government.

4. I have therefore another Conclusion to offer, which seems evidently to result from what I have before laid down ; namely, That because the *Lords* and *Commons* are a *Part*, an *Essential* Part of the *Legislature*, and have a Power of asserting and defending their Share in it entrusted with them by the very Reason of their Institution, therefore they not only may, but OUGHT to use it for the publick Safety ; yea, they would betray the very Trust reposed in them, if they should not. They have a Legislative Authority : Now to make Laws, and to preserve Laws, are Acts of the same Power ; yea, if three Powers jointly have an Interest in making of Laws, surely either of those severally have, and ought to use that Power in preserving them. We are indeed enjoined to render unto *Cesar* the things which are *Cesar's* : But 'tis no where said, that we must render him those things that are our own, both by the Law of God and Man ;
and

and not altogether our own neither, but other Mens too, with which we are *entrusted*; and indeed not wholly theirs, but the Childrens which are yet unborn, and made sacred to them by all the Oath of God which is upon us. And now (to use the words of that worthy and honest Man, Dr. Woodward) * “ Can an *Englishman* be weary
 “ of his matchless Liberty, or insensible of his peculiar Privileges? Enjoyments, which have been
 “ maintain’d by the Expence of Millions of Treasure, and came down to us *swimming in the*
 “ *Blood of our careful Ancestors*. Privileges which
 “ none but we enjoy, and none but such as some
 “ among us, would be so little concern’d to keep;
 “ I wish I could not say So INDUSTRIOUS TO SACRIFICE.

5. Hence the People of *England* are sufficiently justify’d in their Resistance of King *James*, at the Revolution. It would be endless to recount the Particulars of his *Illegal Assaults* upon the Constitution, and destructive Invasions of the Liberties of his Subjects. They are, many of ’em set forth in the *Act of Rights*, 1 *Gul. & Mar.* and so well known to every Body, that they need not be repeated. They may be all summ’d up in this one Instance, *his assuming to himself a Power of dispensing with the Laws at his Pleasure*, which is the wholesale Destruction of a Nation. This certainly is a Power which no King of *England* has by Law: The assuming and exercising of it saps the very Foundation, and destroys the Constitution of our Government. All the Power which the Law does not give a Prince, (which is both the Foundation and the Measure, and the Rule of a Prince’s Authority) is *Usurp’d*; it is without Law, beyond

* *Divine Right of Civil Government*, p. 12.

Law, and against the very Intention of the Law. And therefore, among his other Usurpations, he usurp'd the Name of a *King*, which did not belong to him; for Governing by Law is the *Essence* of an *English King*; and where there is Arbitrary Government (says *Bracton*) there is no King, *i. e.* no *English King*. He loses the Name of a King, says the 17th Chapter of the Laws of King *Edward the Confessor*. It cou'd therefore be no Offence against the Laws, to Resist him, who by the Laws had no Title to Submission; as it was none neither against the *Gospel*, to Resist him, who for *that* Reason, had no Right to the Submission which the Scripture requires Subjects to pay to their lawful Governours. For nothing can be more evident, than that the late King *James*, from the time he set up for *Arbitrary Power*, and refus'd to come to legal Remedies, lost all Right to the Duties enjoined by *St. Paul* in the 13th to the *Romans*, and became an *Outcast* from *that Text*, from the time he was an *Outlaw* from the *English Constitution*.

And this I hope may be sufficient to take off the *Reproach* which some think they cast upon the Principles this Nation proceed on, in putting a Stop to the Current of Popery and Arbitrary Power that was coming upon us, when, in Derision, they call them *Revolution-Principles*. For hence it appears they are true *English-Principles*, (exactly agreeable to the Constitution of the *English Government*, as it has continued in all Ages) and only *gloriously exerted* at the *Revolution*. And therefore to such as like them the worse for *that*, I shall only say this, I hope we shall ne'er have Occasion to use 'em again; but if we have, I make no Question but the People of *England* will scarce think it worth
their

their while to exchange them for the *Principles of Slavery*, and the *Bow-string*.

6. And now if the *Resistance* made at the *Revolution* may be thus justify'd, it will certainly be very lawful to use it, if we are ever brought into the *same Circumstances*: For the Lawfulness of this, is, if possible, made more clear by and *since the Revolution*, than before.

For some Years before, we had Princes full of their Designs of Arbitrary Power, and sometimes Parliaments too, who perhaps shew'd themselves ready enough to compliment them with whatsoever they thought fit to ask: And therefore 'tis no great Wonder if some *Pretences* for the Doctrine of *Absolute Submission* shou'd have crept into some of our Statutes, and be incorporated with our Laws; tho' even *these*, if fairly examin'd, are far enough from being able to bear the Weight some Men lay upon them. Thus, for Instance, King *Charles II.* procur'd an *Act*, requiring an Oath from the Subjects, that it was not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, &c. But this, and every thing else that may be thought to afford the least Ground for asserting *Absolute Submission*, stands repeal'd by the *Act of Settlement of the Crown*, by which also, the Rights and Liberties of the Subject are secured. By that *Act* the Subjects are declar'd to have a *Remedy* as well as a *Right* to all their Privileges; any Oaths that might be thought to infer *Absolute Submission*, are repeal'd, and new Oaths of Allegiance are substituted in their Places, any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And not only so, but the Legality of Resistance in some Cases is *expressly* declar'd; for the same *Act* §. 9. says, that upon such and such Misdemeanours of the King and Queen, the Subjects shall

be absolved from their Allegiance. 'Tis there declar'd, " That all and every Person and Persons
 " that is, are, or shall be reconcil'd to, or shall
 " hold Communion with the Church of *Rome*,
 " or shall profess the *Romish* Religion, or shall
 " marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for
 " ever *uncapable* to inherit, *possess* or *enjoy* the
 " Crown and Government of this Realm and *Ire-*
 " *land*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging,
 " or any Part of the same; or to have, use, or
 " *exercise* any Regal Power, Authority or Jurisdic-
 " tion within the same: *And in all or every such*
 " *Case or Cases, the People of these Realms shall be,*
 " *and are hereby absolv'd of their Allegiance*; and the
 " said Crown and Government shall from time to
 " time descend to, and be enjoy'd by such Per-
 " son or Persons, being Protestants, as should have
 " inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the said
 " Person or Persons so reconcil'd, holding Com-
 " munion, or professing or marrying as aforesaid,
 " were naturally dead." Now can any one tell
 us how a King or Queen acting contrary to this
 Act, can be dispossest'd of the Throne, if they
 should keep it notwithstanding? So that this Act
 will justify, that there is an *indispensible Duty* of
Resistance in some Cases, and that they are *Traitors*
to Posterity, who refuse to perform the Trust re-
 pos'd in them by it: Which to *encourage* them to
Resist, has absolv'd them from their *Allegiance*, and
 to *protect* them in *Resistance* has granted them an
Indemnity. And this Act too will protect those
 who Resist, in such Cases, against the Statute of
 Treasons of *Edward III.* in particular; which I
 observe, because some pretend *that* a mighty Evi-
 dence of the utter Illegality of Resistance, upon
 any Pretence whatsoever.

This

This Act then so expressly declaring the Legality of Resistance in the Cases therein mentioned, it cannot possibly remain a Doubt with any, but those who disallow the Lawfulness of the Revolution, and the subsequent Settlements, and consequently deny the *Authority* of the *Legislators*. For whatever Opinion any may have of the Unlawfulness of Resistance in any Case whatsoever, *before* the making of this Act; whatever Notion they have of the Grounds upon which the *Revolution* was carry'd on; even if we suppose nothing else but *K. James's voluntary Desertion*: Yet if they own the *Authority* of the *King* and *Parliament* which made this Act, it is as plain as any thing can be, that the utter *Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever*, has now no more Countenance from the Law of *England*, than I have shewn it to have from *Scripture* and *Reason*; that is, just none at all.

But 'tis said, that the 12 *Car. 2. cap. 33.* is fully declarative of this; which tells us, that “by the
 “undoubted and fundamental Laws of this King-
 “dom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the
 “Commons, nor both together, in Parliament or
 “out of Parliament, nor the People collectively,
 “or representatively, nor any other Persons what-
 “soever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have
 “any coercive Power over the *Persons* of the
 “Kings of this Realm.” And this is undoubtedly true, and own'd on all Hands; none denying the King's Person to be, according to the Laws, inviolated and sacred. And therefore at the Revolution there was no Violence offer'd to the Person of King *James*, although he was entirely in

I wou'd here again recommend to the Reader, Mr. Steele's celebrated Piece the CRISIS.

the Hands of those who had Opportunity and Strength to have done it. Nay so far from that, that when some, who afterwards engaged violently in the *Jacobite* Interest, advis'd the sending the King over to *Holland*, and the keeping him in the Castle of *Breda*, till the War both in *England* and *Ireland* was at an End, the Prince of *Orange* rejected the Motion with Indignation, and with an Aversion to those who made it; saying (as became his great and heroick Soul) "That tho' he
" could appear against the King at the Head of
" an Army in this Quarrel; yet now that he had
" him in his Power, he cou'd not put him under
" any Restraint;" as the Bishop of *Sarum* tells us in his Preface to his late Volume of Sermons.

And this (as well as many other things) makes a great and essential Difference between the Case of King *James* and King *Charles I.* against whose Royal Person, not only the greatest Indignities were offer'd, but at last his Blood was shed by violent and cruel Men, in the Sight of the Sun; With Regard to which, and in a just Abhorrence of it, the words foregoing were inserted in that *Act*, as every body knows. And therefore (in the Bishop of *Norwich's* Words) † "Whoever shall
" compare that favourable and providential Change
" (which we joyfully commemorate on the 5th of
" *November*) to the heinous Offence (for which
" we mourn on the 30th of *January*) from which
" it widely differs in the Occasion and Manner
" of its being pursu'd, the Persons concern'd, and
" every Consequence of it, can neither do it with
" Justice to it self, nor with any good Will to
" our present happy Establishment; which cannot
" but suffer both by those who think them equally

† Sermon on the 30th of January.

“ *just*, and those that think them *equally wicked*: as is abundantly made appear in Dr. Bradford's most excellent Sermon on this Subject.

But 'tis farther pretended, that the *Militia*, or Power of the Sword being lodg'd with the *King* alone, it cannot be *Lawful* for the People to use it against him. But this will appear of very little Weight, if we only consider for what Ends and Purposes this Power is committed to him, which are such as these, *viz.* That he may be enabled to make *foreign Wars*, Wars upon the Enemies of the State, and for Defence of the Laws and Frame of Government established; and not for Arbitrary Purposes, or to enable Ministers to execute illegal Commands: And therefore if it be this way employ'd, it may undoubtedly be *lawfully* Resisted and Oppos'd. The *Militia Act* was made just after the *Restoration*, in Opposition to the *Antimonarchical* Principles that had got Head in the late Confusions; but certainly it would astonish the Makers to see an Act which was design'd only to preserve *one Part* of the Constitution, *viz.* The *Monarchy*, thus wrested and stretch'd to the Subversion of the *Whole*. But it will not do: There can be no perswading Men that a Power vested in their Princes to protect them from their Enemies, and defend them in their Properties, must tie up their Hands when 'tis all employed *against* them: That because they are under Obligations to be aiding and assisting to the *King* in the *Legal Exercise* of the *Regal Power*; therefore they may not defend *themselves* from *Illegal* Violence and Oppression. This appears too absurd in all Conscience. And yet if there were ever any thing in this Act, to this purpose, we do not seem to have any thing to do with it now. For not to insist upon what some have very reasonably affirm'd, that the Clause in
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the Act on which so much Weight is laid, being the *same* with the *Oath*, mentioned before, in the *Corporation Act*; and *that* being Repeal'd by the First of *W. and M.* this is not only virtually, but expressly Repeal'd too: I say, not to insist upon this, 'tis very evident, and cannot possibly be contradicted, that the Act of *Rights and Liberties* aforesaid, declaring that upon such and such Misdemeanors of the King and Queen, the Subjects shall be absolv'd from their Allegiance, does in those Cases thereby justify and warrant the Lawfulness of Resistance, any thing in this, or any other Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

But 'tis again objected, that the King being superior to every Soul in that Society over which he presides, cannot be accountable for his Actions to his Inferiors. And nothing is more true than that the *King*, in a proper Sense, cannot be accountable to his *Subjects*. But the Force of this Argument will be entirely taken off, if we consider, that the Resistance offer'd to a Prince attempting the Destruction of his People, does not argue a *Superiority* in *them*, over *him*. For this is not an Act of Civil Government, but a *moral Act* residing in reasonable Creatures, who have an undoubted Right to *defend* themselves, their Liberties, and Estates, against the Violence of those who have no *Authority* to invade them. I suppose no body will be so absurd as to say, a Man may not defend himself from the Assaults of a Murderer, or a Thief, till he can prove he is his *Civil Governour*; nor that such Persons are, in a proper Sense, accountable to the honest Man they assault. *States* and *Princes* are not accountable to one another, and yet they have a Right to defend themselves against one another's Invasions and Violences. A Master hath no Equal in his *Family*, yet hath

hath his Family a Right to defend themselves against him, shou'd he endeavour to ruine or murder them. So that 'tis manifest, that there is no need of the Pretence of Equality, or Superiority, to bear a Man out in Resisting those who have no Authority to assault him. And therefore the King may be *Supreme*, as he undoubtedly is) and yet the Subjects may withstand and oppose his illegal Attempts to ruine and destroy them, without the least Pretence of Rivalling, or Assuming the *Regal Power*, or Supremacy.

I have therefore often wonder'd to seee such a mighty Weigh plac'd in an Argument that has scarce anything in it: And this done not only by such *Penny Politicians* as *Luke Milbourn*, but by many who wou'd be thought, and in other things do deserve the Character of Men that think justly, and reason closely. My Lord Bishop of *Exeter* hath made much use of this Argument; and Mr. *Hoadly* has so fully shewn the Weakness and Insufficiency of it, that no body must wonder if his Lordship *han't* been at Leisure, nor *can't* be at Leisure, nor *won't* be at Leisure to answer him. He tells us, I remember, a Story about the Mayor of a Corporation's misbehaving himself in his Office, in which Case he is not accountable to the People that chose him to it, but to the *Queen* by whose Commission he acted in it. He does not put any Case in particular wherein his Worship misbehav'd himself, and therefore we are left to guess at the *Nature* of it. Now first we'll suppose the Mayor, having by the *Charter* of the Corporation, a Title to *one Shilling a Ton* for certain Goods sold at a Fair kept there, shou'd under Pretence thereof demand *five*.: In that Case, what must the Men who think themselves injur'd do? Why, they must undoubtedly appeal to the *Queen*, in her Courts

of

of Justice, as the learned Bishop directs. In like manner, if the *King*, under Colour of Law, *invades* the Property of any of his Subjects, they must also defend themselves by the same Law, for there is no other way whereby they may lawfully do it. And tho' the King be superior to them, yet he is not *above* the Law; nor does his Prerogative, as great as it is, *extend to the doing of any wrong*. Here then is the last Resort in such Cases: The Law is the Supreme Power of the Kingdom; and the King is Supreme in the Execution of it. But then let us suppose again, that this Mayor, under Pretence of his Commission, or without any Pretence at all, should enter himself, or grant his Warrant to others, to enter the Houses of the Freemen, to seize their Possessions, and murder their Persons, the Question then will be, whether they may not stand in their own Defence, and secure themselves from these illegal Assaults without pretending an Authority to call 'em to an Account, to try and judge, and censure 'em. That belongs to the Office of the Civil Magistrate, but the *other* is the Exercise of a *natural* Right (of which *Christianity* has not depriv'd any Man) a Right to defend his Life and Property against those that have no Right to take 'em away; and no body whatsoever can have any Right to do this, but *according to Law*. I shall not need to apply this; it will apply it self. I hope this may be sufficient to take off the Force of this Objection; which tho' it be as much rely'd upon, and has been as much labour'd as any one thing in this Cause, seems to have as little Argument in it as any in the World. They tell you a long Story of bringing a Prince to the Bar, of indicting, judging and punishing him; and then very gravely ask by *what Authority* this can be done? By none
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at all that I know of; nor does any body, except it be three or four Madmen, pretend to justify or warrant such a Procedure; nor does asserting a Right in a Nation, to defend its Constitution, infer any thing like it: And therefore they who are so ready at putting such Cases, may even take 'em to themselves, for no body else is concern'd in 'em.

But in the last Place we are very much importun'd to tell who shall judge in this Case between a King and his People? Who shall determine when our Liberties are so invaded as to justify our Defence of them? It has always been the way of those who wou'd enslave Men under a blind Obedience, or implicit Faith, to be very pert in putting such Questions; the Scripture (say the Papists) is the Rule of Faith, but who shall judge of the Sense of it? And if you will not allow 'em, that their Church shall be Judge, the Scriptures themselves shall not be worth a Farthing. But now to give a satisfactory Answer to this Question. It must be acknowledg'd, that a Frame of Government cannot be imagin'd of that Perfection, but that some *Inconvenience* there will be possible, for which there can be provided no Remedy. And this is *one* in a Limited Monarchy, that there can be no Judge *Legal* and *Constituted*, to determine the Sovereign's Transgression of his fundamental Limits; because that wou'd destroy the Being of the Monarchy it self. But if there arise a Contention between the governed Society, and their Governour; if there grow a fundamental Variance betwixt him and the Community; in such a transcendent Case, which is beyond the Provision of that Government, there must be an extraordinary Judge, and way of Decision. If

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therefore

therefore a Prince attempts *that*, which, if suffer'd, dissolves the Frame and Life of the Government; and Publick Liberty; every Person, and especially the *Lords* and *Commons*, who have a Share in the Legislative Power, must compare those Attempts with the fundamental Laws of the Monarchy, and every Man (so far as concerns him) must follow the Evidence of Truth in his own Soul, to oppose, or not to oppose, according as he can in Conscience acquit or condemn the Act and Measures of the Governour. For in a Case which transcends the Frame and Provision of the Government they are bound to, People are unbound, and in a State as if they had no Government; and the superior Law of Reason and Conscience must be Judge; wherein every one must proceed with the utmost Advice and Impartiality. For if he err in Judgment, he either resists God's Ordinance, or puts his Hand to the Subversion of the State and Policy he lives under. In our Case indeed, this is not so very difficult a Point to resolve; for the Law being the Measure of the King's Power, and those Laws being known to every Body, they can easily tell when they are rul'd and govern'd by Law, and when by *meer Will and Pleasure, without, or against Law*: And the Case is still plainer where a Prince shall openly avow and declare his Resolution of governing without regard to the known and establish'd Laws; which was the Case at the *Revolution*. When Matters stand so, it can't certainly but be *understood* by all, that the Constitution is dissolving; and therefore, that 'tis not only *Lawful*, but the *Duty* of all to unite for the Preservation of it. But if any possibly shou'd mistake the Case, and think the Constitution is destroying, when 'tis safe and flourishing;
or

Or others, under Pretence of securing, to disturb the *Publick Happiness* and Security for their own *Private Ends*; (the *first* of which Cases can seldom happen, and the other will as seldom succeed) yet I have shewn already, that the best things, and most important Truths, by *Mistake* or *Abuse*, may be made to serve very bad Ends; and therefore, that *that alone* is no Argument in the World against the Lawfulness of Resistance on a *just* Occasion, that is, on such an Occasion, and in such a Case as the *Revolution*. And so much for the *Law* of the Point.

IV. I come now in the last Place to consider the Consistence of this Doctrine with the Principles of the *Church of England*.

It cannot indeed be deny'd, but that a Multitude of very eminent Divines of the Establish'd Church, have said things enough in all Conscience, in favour of Absolute Submission. But besides that they seemly to *retract* their Doctrine, when they so evidently contradicted it by their *Practice*, they are nothing more than *Private Doctors* Opinions, which must by no means be made the *Standard* of our Church's Doctrine. The Account of the Clergy's giving into *Arbitrary* Notions, is very short and easy. In the Times of Anarchy and Confusion, the Principles of Obedience, and the Notions of Resistance were so loose, that in Opposition to them others, at the Restoration, run themselves into the other Extreme, without any regard to the Nature of the Constitution. Before the Convulsions of those Times, the Authority of Princes, and the Subjection of People stood upon their right Bottom; a Power of Governing, and a Duty of Obeying and Submitting according to our legal Constitution. But when the Subjects

had invaded the Regal Authority, and destroyed the King, it made many fond of, and impatient to declare for a Doctrine that shou'd put it in the Power of the King to destroy his Subjects. And so this Doctrine gain'd Ground, and prevail'd in the Reign of King *Charles II.* the Flights and Flatteries of the Divines in his Time were very high and extravagant, especially in their *Court-Sermons*; but *from the beginning it was not so*: The Principles of Arbitrary Power, and a single Will and Pleasure above the Laws of the * Land, were scarce ever heard of, to be sure not with Countenance and Approbation, till those unhappy Times of Rebellion and Anarchy, and the succeeding ones of Ease and Luxury. And as they probably brought on the *Confusions* of the first; (for however it happens, Tyranny and Rebellion seem in their Nature made to hate, and yet to help forward one another.) so 'twas little less than a Miracle, that they were escap'd by the latter; when so many were wearing out their Pulpits with the Doctrine of Absolute and Unlimited Submission to Princes, as if it were not only the *first and great Commandment*, but the *second* too. But whatever Countenance these absurd Notions have had from some in the Church, they never received any from the Church it self. On the contrary, the whole *Convocation*, the Church of *England's Representative* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, publicly acknowledg'd it glorious to assist Subjects against the Tyranny and Oppressions of their Sovereigns, and in Defence of their just Rights and Liberties. And they not only

* Preach'd first by Sibthorp and Manwaring, and refus'd to be licens'd by Archb. shop Abbot,

maintain'd in words the Justice of the *French, Scotch, and Dutch* Defences, which the Protestants of those Countries made for the Safeguard of their Lives, Liberties and Religion, but laid down their Purse to help them ; and charg'd themselves deeply with Taxes, in Consideration of the Queen's great Charges and Expences in assisting them ; as may be seen at large in the Preambles of the Clergy's Subsidy † Acts in that Reign ; which the Reader may find together in the learned Mr. *Johnson's* Answer to *Constantius the Apostate*, p. 79. of his Works. From whence I will only recite one Instance that may stand for all, 5 *Eliz. cap. 24.* Among other Considerations for which the Clergy give their Subsidy of Six Shillings in the Pound, they have these words. “ And finally
 “ pondering the inestimable Charges sustain'd by
 “ Your Highness, as well of late Days in redu-
 “ cing the Realm of *Scotland* to Unity and Con-
 “ cord, as also in procuring, as much as in Your
 “ Highness lieth, by all kind and godly and prudent
 “ Means the abating of all Hostility and Persecution
 “ within the Realm of *France*, practis'd and us'd
 “ against the Professors of God's Holy Gospel and
 “ true Religion.” The first thing in this Passage is the Queen's Assistance of the *Scottish* Nobility in their Reformation, in which the Queen of *Scotland* resisted them to her Power, by bringing *French* Forces into *Scotland*, which is set down at large in our Chronicles. * The Temporality in their

† Note, that now the Clergy are tax'd by Parliament, and pay for their Benefices, as Gentlemen do for their Estates ; yet before the Restoration of King Charles II. they were tax'd by their Representatives in Convocation,

* Stow p. 649.

Subsidy Act, 5 Eliz. cap. 27. call this Assistance. "The Princely and upright Preservation of the Liberty of the next Realm and Nation of Scotland, from imminent Captivity and Desolation." The other is the godly and prudent Means for abating Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of France. Now History will inform us, † that those were Forces sent under Dudley Earl of Warwick, to Newhaven to assist the Hugonots, who were then in Arms. We have some modern illuminated Divines, who wou'd not stick to call this the abetting of Rebellion: But the whole Bishops and Clergy, and amongst them the Compilers of the Homilies, call it the Use of Godly and Prudent Means to abate Hostility and Persecution practis'd against the Professors of God's Holy Gospel and true Religion: For so that charitable Clergy could find in their Hearts to call a Parcel of Calvinists, who had never a Bishop amongst them, whom some in this degenerate Age wou'd sooner unchurch and destroy, than aid or assist.

Now from hence it appears, that this modish Passive Doctrine of submitting for Conscience sake, to illegal Violence, and all sorts of lawless Oppression, is all Madness and Innovation, and a thing wholly unknown to the Old Church of England. For if they had esteem'd the foreign Protestants Rebels for defending themselves against their Persecutors and Oppressors, the Bishops and Clergy of England wou'd scarce have involv'd themselves in the same Guilt, by aiding and assisting them. For it had been utterly unlawful, and a horrid Sin to assist Subjects in the Violation of

† Stow p. 650.

their Duty and Allegiance, and to turn at least a whole Year's Revenue of all the spiritual Promotions in *England*, into Swords to be employed in Resisting the Ordinance of God.

I might at large shew this to be the Sense and Judgment of the *Church of England*, not only thro' the long and glorious Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, but in the Reigns of King *James I.* and *Charles I.* also: (who assisted the *Rochellers* against the *French King*, and order'd a *Fast* by Proclamation, and appointed a Form of *Prayer* to be drawn up for the imploring of God's Blessing upon them, and the Assistance he gave them:) But this been done so fully already, in Papers that are in almost every Body's Hands, that I shall pass it over; and only refer the Reader to the learned Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Oxford's* Speeches on *Sacheverell's* Tryal; and particularly to "the *History of Resistance*, as
 " practis'd by the *Church of England*; in which
 " 'tis undeniably prov'd from most authentick Re-
 " cords, that in every Reign since the Reforma-
 " tion of Religion, the said Church hath aided
 " and assisted, justify'd and approv'd of such Sub-
 " jects as have defended themselves against the
 " Oppressions of their Tyrannical Princes.

Against all this Evidence there can be nothing objected worthy our Notice, but some Passages in *Book of Homilies*, which, 'tis pretended, are inconsistent with it. I hope upon Examination it will appear to be otherwise; for I shou'd be very sorry to find the whole Church of *England* acting contrary to their Principles for more than a Hundred Years together, and in such an important Point too; and as sorry if the Doctrine of the *Homilies* cannot be reconcil'd with *Scripture* and *Reason*, and the *Law of England*; all which I have shewn
 already

already, do set us free from Submission to *illegal*, and *destructive* Violence and Oppression.

Now it must be acknowledg'd, that the *Homilies* do in several Places condemn all Rebellions, Insurrections, Seditions and Tumults made to disturb the Order and Government of Kingdoms. And this, as it is certainly *Godly and wholesome Doctrine*, and necessary for the Times wherein they were made, as the 35th of the 39 Articles declares, so it will continue in all succeeding Ages. But for *those Times* more especially were the Homilies necessary, and fram'd with a particular Regard to them: Which I observe because the *Intention* of the *Compilers* may be best understood, by considering upon what Occasion they were fram'd.

Now 'tis evident that the Compilers of the Homilies looked on Rebellion to be a violent Rising against a Prince executing the Laws; for *such*, and *no other*, was the Case of the three Rebellions in *England* that they had in view; that in King *Henry VIII's*, in King *Edward VI's*, and Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, where the Papists took Arms against their Prince, who was with great Gentleness executing Laws made in Matters of Religion. That this was the Case we are inform'd by the Homilies themselves; which acquaint us, that *The Babylonical Beast of Rome* had then lately procur'd the Breach of the Publick Peace in *England* (with the long Continuance whereof, says the Homily, he is sore grieved) by the Ministry of his disguised Chaplains, whispering in the ears of certain northern Borderers; who are there describ'd as ready to kill all that shall, or dare speak against their false Superstition and wicked Idolatry. That this was the Rebellion against which the Homilies are directed, is plain from Abundance of other Passages in them; but more especially

especially from their defining *Rebellion* to be a *Resisting*, or *Withstanding* COMMON AUTHORITY; and so in the same Homily of Obedience, " Thus " we know partly our bounden Duties to *Common Authority*, now let us learn to accomplish the same.

So that here's nothing in the Homilies to oblige us to lye down and submit to *Unauthoritative* and *Lawless* Violence, but only to *Lawful Authority*; they do not require us to suffer Wrongs and Injuries, to submit to be murder'd or destroy'd *against Law*; but charge it upon us, not to resist the Prince in the Execution of the Laws. It is therefore a strange kind of Inference, that because the Rebellion of the *Papists* to introduce and resettlement their *abdicated* Religion, is condemned by the *Homilies*, the Resistance of *Protestants* in Defence of the Religion *establish'd* by all the *Authority* of the Kingdom, must be condemn'd by them too. People may make these Cases alike, if they please; but there is just as much Difference between them, as there is betwixt *Authority* and *No-Authority*, *Law* and *No-Law*; which will be thought *very clear*, and of *some Importance* with all reasonable Men.

I might here give the Reader the Judgment of several of our most eminent Divines, who flourish'd about the Times these Homilies were compos'd; such as Dr. *Poinet*, Bishop *Jewell*, Bishop *Bilton*, Mr. *Hooker* and others: All of 'em Men who have declar'd themselves of the same Opinion in this Matter, and such Men as cannot be suppos'd not to understand the true Meaning of the Homilies, or so soon to contradict what they solemnly subscrib'd to: But every thing of this kind may be seen in the *Authors* themselves, or in Mr. *Johnson's* Works, who has shewn it to be also the Judgment of *Luther*, *Melanchton*, and all the eminent foreign

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Protestants.

Protestants. I shall therefore only observe, that at the End of every Division of the Homily against *Willful Rebellion* (and by the by, *WILLFUL* was not put in the Title for nothing) there is a Prayer for those oppress'd by Tyranny in other Parts, that they might be relieved, and that those who were in fear of their Cruelty might be comforted.

There are some Passages likewise in the *Homilies* that relate to the *coercing the Person* of the Prince, which is certainly sacred by our Constitution. But that the Compilers had no Thoughts thereby to debar Subjects of the Right of defending themselves against illegal Violence, is evident from their propounding *David* as an Example of Loyalty, and giving him the Character of a Person *the furthest off from all manner of Rebellion*; than whom there was never a greater Instance of *Self-Defence*. For tho' good and godly *David*, as the Homily calls him, had a just and sacred Tenderness for the Person of *Saul*, and would not offer him any Violence when he had him in his Power, and resented the Murder of him by the *Amalekite*, in a high Degree; yet nothing can be plainer, than that he was resolv'd to defend himself against *Saul*, as far as possibly he could; as his raising and keeping Forces about him, and his Purpose at *Keilah* do sufficiently manifest.

There are many other Passages in the *Homilies* that affirm, that the *bad Life* of a Prince is no just Cause of Rebellion against his Government; for that is the most can be made of what we are told, that "all Subjects are bound to obey their Magistrates, and for no Cause to withstand or resist them, altho' they be *wicked Men*." This, however necessary for the Times wherein they were made, in which the Rebellion in King *Henry VIII's* Time,
(who

(who had given but too much Occasion to reckon him a *wicked Prince*) was fresh and lively, does not affect any that I know of at present ; to be sure can be no Argument against Resistance of illegal and destructive Violence.

Upon the whole Matter : If there be any thing in the Homilies that may seem to favour the Notion of Absolute Submission ; yet if taken in a qualify'd Sense, and compar'd with other Places (without which the *Scriptures* themselves may be made to speak Blasphemy and Nonsense) it will be very evident, that they who compiled them, had not in their View the Attempts of a *Prince* endeavouring to destroy his *Subjects against Law*, and *their* Endeavours to *defend* themselves ; but the Case of Subjects Resisting their Princes in the due execution of the Laws ; as appears plainly from that Definition of Rebellion in the *Homily of Obedience*. *Therefore let us all fear the most detestable Vice of Rebellion, ever remembring, that he that Resisteth or Withstandeth COMMON AUTHORITY, Resisteth or Withstandeth God and his Ordinance.*

Tho', after all, I suppose those who made the *Homilies* never thought themselves *infallible*, nor ought to be esteem'd so by others : They were good Men, nevertheless they were but Men ; Men of like Prejudices and Passions with other People ; Men who cou'd not pretend to be guided in an unerring manner in all things they wrote, by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit ; nor does the *Article*, when it tells us the *Homilies* contain godly and wholesome Doctrine, intend to give as much Authority to them, as to the *Holy Scriptures* ; nor does *Subscription* to the *Article* signify, that the Person who subscribes is oblig'd to believe every individual Sentence in all the *Homilies*, and the

Interpretation and Application of every Text of Scripture quoted in them to be just and reasonable. There are Places in the Homilies against the *Use of Organs* in Churches, which yet are generally received; and it will be hard to name either a *Preacher* or a *Writer*, who hath not contradicted some particular Sentence, or some particular Interpretation of Scripture in them. So that all that can be reasonably taken for the Meaning of Subscription, is (in the words of the *Article*) that the Homilies contain a wholesome, godly and sound Doctrine; which I believe they do; and yet may contain some few Errors, which I am no where forbid to acknowledge. The only thing that ever was suppos'd either by *Governours* or *Governed* in this Church, to be intended by Subscription to the Article concerning the Homilies, was this, that the Person subscribing doth truly believe, that the Tenor of the Doctrine contain'd in them is just and right; and that the main Doctrines design'd to be taught in them, are godly and wholesome Doctrines: And all this is very consistent with believing and acknowledging their may possibly be Errors and Mistakes in them as well as in other human Compositions. But I have no need of insisting upon this *favourable Allowance* in the present Case; for the *Resistance* I have stated and contended for, is far enough from the *Rebellion* condemned by the Homilies; and if any thing in them seem, upon a superficial Reading, to be inconsistent with it, yet when compar'd with other Places, the suppos'd Inconsistence will vanish into nothing. For to sum up all in a Word, the *Homilies* condemn all Tumults and Rebellions against Princes for their *personal* Vices, or on any Account
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of a *private Nature*, all Violence to the *Person* of the Prince, on any Account whatsoever; all Opposition to, and Disturbance of a Prince in the executing *Laws* that are *suppos'd*, or are *really* grievous to the People; that is, in the Words of the Homily, all *Resistance* of *Common Authority*: But they no where have Regard to the Case of a Prince endeavouring to destroy and ruin the *publick Happiness*, in *Opposition* to the *known* and *establish'd* *Laws*, nor do they affirm that in such a Case *Resistance* is unlawful.

But if such *Resistance* be not condemn'd by the *Homilies*, it is *otherwise* very fully approv'd by the Church of *England*; I mean, in that all the Members of it do yearly join in a Form of Thanksgiving for our Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power, at our late glorious Revolution. I have shewn, and 'tis so evident that none, without the greatest Absurdity, can deny that this Deliverance was wrought for us by the means of such *Resistance* as the *Low-Church* Men contend for. Now what greater *Approbation* can the Church of *England* give of this, than by appointing and joining in a solemn Form of Thanks and Praise to God, for the Success of it? If the *Resistance* made at the Revolution was a heinous and damnable Sin; and the *Revolution* it self nothing else but a *prosperous Rebellion*, the words in the Office for the Fifth of *November*, wou'd very ill become the Mouths of Christians. We there profess our selves assembled to bless God for filling our Hearts again with Joy and Gladness, and putting a new Song into our Mouths, by bringing his late Majesty upon that Day for the Deliverance of our Church and Nation from Popish Tyranny and Arbitrary Power: And to adore the Wisdom and Justice of that Providence which so timely interpos'd in our extreme

extreme Danger, and disappointed all the Designs of our Enemies. And again we do most humbly praise and magnify the most glorious Name of God for his unspeakable Goodness towards us, express'd in wonderfully conducting his Servant our late King, and bringing him safely into England, to preserve us from the Attempts of our Enemies to bereave us of our Religion and Laws. And finally we bless God for giving his late Majesty a safe Arrival here, and for making all Opposition fall before him, till he became our King and Governour. I am sure if this Nation did a wicked thing in defending it self against Popery and Slavery, it must, at least, be equally wicked in the Church thus to laud and praise God for it. I know some think they may be excus'd in giving Thanks to God for the Benefits of the Revolution, tho' they disapprove the Means by which they were procur'd. But this Form gives Thanks to God for Means and End too; and indeed if the former were unjustifiable, it wou'd be as impious thus to praise God for the latter, as for a Thief very devoutly to bless him for the Success of his Villanies. Those Men therefore, who call for Pontius Pilate's Bason of Water to wash their Hands of the Sin of the Revolution, and yet pretend to rejoice in the Blessings of it, whatever Countenance they may have from the Equivocations of the Jesuits, are far enough from receiving any from the Church of England. And thus I hope I have made it appear, beyond any reasonable Contradiction, that the Doctrine of Resistance (as stated before, and contended for by those call'd Low Church Men) is no way inconsistent with the Doctrine of the Church of England; but on the contrary, expressly approv'd and justify'd by it.

Some indeed think they have a mighty Advantage over this Doctrine, when they tell us, 'tis the Doctrine of *Papists* and *Dissenters*; which if it were wholly true, wou'd be no just Objection against it: For both the one and the other hold a great many Points that are common to all Christians. But, as it happens, the Case is, in Part, otherwise. For nothing is more evident, than that there is no more Congruity between *this* Doctrine, and that of the *Papists*, than there is between Light and Darkness, as I might shew at large, but that I believe it is written in capital Letters in the very Consciences of them that so despitely object it. But this is the way of some Men, when they cannot beat down a Truth by just Reasoning, then to make it odious by hateful Comparisons.

As to the *Dissenters*, I believe they are generally of the same Opinion with us in this Point, as they are also in many others, which no body thinks the worse of, for being acknowledg'd by them. I wish with all my Heart that they judg'd so rightly in other Points, that we might agree with them, or rather they with us in those too. For it can be no Scandal to agree with any Persons in what is just and reasonable.

And now having vindicated the *Revolution*, by shewing the Lawfulness of that *Resistance* which brought it about, what remains but that we hold it fast, since we came so honestly by it? While we support the Revolution that will support us, *
 " Blessed be God, we are yet standing upon the
 " Foundation upon which the *Revolution* plac'd us,

* *Dr. Bradford's Sermon* 5 Nov. 1713.

“ the Government settled upon a *Protestant Queen*
 “ and entail’d upon a Race of *Protestants* only.
 But “ those who are continually speaking contem-
 “ ptuously of that Revolution, and decrying the
 “ Principles upon which it was carry’d on, and
 “ finally settled, do in effect undermine the Ground
 “ we stand upon, and (what in them lies) shake
 “ the Foundations of the Government which is
 “ so happily establish’d amongst us.

That *Papists* and *Non-jurors* shou’d engage in this
 Design, has nothing strange in it all : But ’tis per-
 fectly amazing to see profess’d *Protestants*, and such
 as have given the present Government all the As-
 surance that a solemn *Oath* and *Abjuration* can give
 it ; it is perfectly amazing, I say, to see *such* join
 with them in it.

I know many who are undermining the *Revolu-*
tion, do yet pretend great Affection for the *Prote-*
stant Succession, as settled by Law. But how *incon-*
sistent is this ? Every one knows that *these* must
stand and *fall* together, being founded the one up-
 on the other. The Enemies of this Kingdom are
 MANY and GREAT : I pray God they were fewer, and
 their Power less ; but they are not able to ruin us
 without the Concurrence of many, who have no
 ill Designs, but are drill’d on from one thing to
 another, by designing Men. How happy would
 it be if such would consider that † “ it will be
 “ but a melancholy After-game, when Men by
 “ their Folly have brought Ruin on themselves
 “ and their Country, to say, *who wou’d have thought*
 “ it ? When it is plain that nothing else could

† *Bishop Burnet’s Preface to Vol. Sermons.*

“ have been looked for. But if we must be ruin’d
 “ by the *Treachery* of some, and the *Folly* of others,
 “ *The Will of the Lord be done.*

But I hope those who wou’d prevent the *Ruine*
 and *Desolation* of their *Native Country*, and the *Ex-*
tirpation of that *holy Religion* which is *Establiſh’d*
 among us, may be excus’d from *Censure* and *Re-*
proach, and be allow’d, at least, as *Good Church-*
men as the Men who wou’d bring on us these
 dreadful *Mischiefs*. From which

Good Lord Deliver us.

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T H E CONCLUSION.

AND thus have I gone thro' what I first propos'd, and made it appear that those who are term'd, and revil'd under the Character of *Low Church Men*, do in nothing differ from such as make the highest Pretensions to the *Church of England*, but in things wherein *they* palpably differ from the *Church* it self. And upon the whole Matter, it will be no want of Charity to affirm, that the Men who deafen us with a perpetual Din about *the Church, the Church!* must not mean the *Church of England*, as at present constituted; but some novel upstart Notions and Practices which they wou'd fain introduce, and establish among us: Or else all this zealous Contention for the Church, is really nothing but a Contention for this World, and some of the Interests in it, while the *former* is only hypocritically pretended. Let none therefore be discourag'd from going on in the Ways of Peace and Holiness, by the ill Usage they will meet with from these Men; and by what odious Names soever we are branded and distinguish'd from others, let us approve our selves as true Christians and Church-men, by living exemplary Lives, conforming to what the Church enjoins,

joins, and leaving those who are otherwise minded, to follow the Light of their own Minds; remembring always, that if ever decay'd and languishing Christianity revive, it must be by Charity and Moderation; and the Enemies of *these* are the Enemies of our Church, and Government, which is built upon them, and kept together by them.

FINIS.

...and leaving those who are...
...to follow the light of their own...
...always, and never...
...Christianity... it must be by...
...and... and the... of the...
...of our Church, and Government...
...is built upon... and left together...



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